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ABSTRACT

This study examined the problems of bilingualism among 28 Iranian students in Swedish schools, focusing on sociocultural influences of the majority culture on the minority group and their effects on the students' perceptions and educational outcomes. The students and 35 native-language teachers were observed and interviewed in their work contexts for three years. Toward the end of the study, essay tests were administered to 20 of the students in upper secondary school. Results are presented in the form of major findings from the literature survey; findings concerning the study's methodology and the model used for analysis; and findings from the data gathered, presented separately for observations; discussions with teachers; and student essays. Issues discussed in these summaries include: influences of the majority and minority language cultures on Iranian students' behaviors; values and belief systems; family role; cultural isolation; levels of home language activity and maintenance; and community role. A major conclusion is that three factors: language, cultural co-existence, and equilibrium within the social system, are highly interdependent. Implications for practitioners are discussed. Contains 13 pages of references. (MSE)

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LANGUAGE, IDENTITY AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

A sociocultural approach to the study of the concept "will" on the effectiveness of the "how's" and "why's" of bilingualism

Ali Reza Sahaf

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Throughout human history, learning a language has been an important part of the educational process. From ancient times to the present day, school children have had to struggle to master their native language as well as to learn a second and in many cases third and fourth language. To be educated meant to know both one's own native language and a language other than the language of one's family and community.

Millions of children come to school with poor knowledge of the language of instruction, let alone proficiency in it. Some of these children in Western countries are recent immigrants; others have lived in a host country for a part of their lives but grew up in non-majority-language speaking families and neighbourhoods. Not all language instruction programmes have proved effective for most children with a minority language background.

The experience of North America is identified by two different approaches: Transition and maintenance. In the United States, submersion in all language classes has not proved effective for most children. The immersion programme in Canada has proved to have helped both the majority English-speaking population and the French-speaking minority to master, respectively, French and English proficiently. Different European countries have different approaches toward the concept and practices of bilingual education especially when references are made to their ethnic-minority language communities. In the Middle Eastern countries, bilingualism *is a fact of life and it is believed that all human beings are born to be bilinguals.* This is partly due to their long histories and their interaction with a variety of nations, and partly due to their needs for survival and self-fulfilment.

Bilingual education, although not a new or unexamined topic, still evokes hot dispute, passionate defence and sometimes severe attacks. Indeed, interest in bilingual education is so intense, concerns with its various aspects so widespread, and the problems it poses so complex as to almost demand that its *current issues* need perpetual investigations. An extremely important question for bilingual educators has been *what is the best way to teach the bilinguals the language of the school and the larger society as a second language (L2)* but no similar attention has been paid to *how to teach the home-language (L1)* in this connection. If not of assimilative intentions, one assumption might have been the generalisation of Canadian experience to other contexts, which is neither valid nor reliable

since there is at present no clear-cut answer available concerning the direction in which ethnic heritage language (L_1) teaching is heading in all countries with minority language instruction programmes except in Canada.

From a philosophical standpoint, when we speak of a *second* in a sequence, there exists a *first* as well. In bilingual education, the investigation of how to teach L_1 and *who else* or *what else* affects the process of first - language learning is as important as knowledge of how to teach L_2 and the internal or external factors affecting it. In both cases, bilingual learners' conception of language and bilingualism and their reasons for language study play important roles despite the favourable/unfavourable intentions of the programme planners and curriculum writers both as regards the process and the outcomes of bilingual instruction programmes. *Ethos* (specific context) is also a crucial component in bilingual instruction programmes which indirectly imposes ideologies on the teacher's thinking process and the way he plans his teaching activities and class strategies.

The term *bilingual* carries with it the implication of at least some degree of biculturalism. Implicit in the concept of bilingual education is the importance of exposing members of one ethnic and linguistic group to the traditions and values, the ways of thinking and feeling of another. Thus, an integral part of bilingual programmes is to further a knowledge of the different cultures in which the languages have developed. But, meanwhile, linguistic competence in both L_1 and L_2 must enjoy the privilege of being the means of direct communication and interaction with both minority communities and the larger out-of school and out-of family societies. Linguistic competence is, thus, a means and an end in itself. A means of facilitating linguistic performance. An *ends* as labelling the individual literate, educated, lingually competent and knowledgeable and finally a true bilingual.

This requires that research on bilingual education, and the evaluation of bilingual programmes to deal with the issue from two perspectives: Linguistic and non-linguistic and so to trace it multidisciplinary. Linguistic competence is the unconscious knowledge about sounds, meanings and syntax possessed by the speakers of a language. Linguistic performance is the actual language behaviour- the use of language in daily life. The former is the domain of the linguist's study and the latter is the approach of other scholars in education, psychology, sociology, language didactics and similar disciplines.

Ecologically speaking, fortunately, we live in an era in which the value of lingual and cultural diversity is politically sanctioned and legislatively mandated. In many industrialised countries, people have been given the right to have their children instructed in the language of their parents when that counters the dominant language of the country. The governments support and draw up policies to develop programmes in language diversity and cultural pluralism, arguing that diversity improves the quality of education.

Research studies as well as a massive amount of literature recognise these practices as a part of political struggles. Many statements are favourable of what is variously called multicultural education, bilingual education, or pluralism.

However, despite, the favourable views of and academic attention to the studies of bilingualism from different psychological, societal, educational and political perspectives, one crucial question remains: *How and why the students' conception of bilingual/multicultural education derived from their sociocultural forces affect the success and the failure of bilingual instruction programmes and "who else" or "what else" in a society 2 helps maintain or change their attitude toward their heritage language and culture.* Although much has been written, said and investigated about the advantages of a bilingual mind and the importance of adequate knowledge of L_1 and L_2 for a person to be identified as a truly balanced bilingual, research on bilingualism has most often advocated bilingualism "why" and less often bilingualism "how". The complexity of the problem increases when we discover that researchers - in order to avoid the pitfalls in their comparisons - assert that their comparative groups are true balanced bilinguals, while they are not sure whether such groups have received adequate knowledge, experience and the needed skills in L_1 as well as in L_2 according to their age group development.

To sum up the discussion, compared with research on bilingualism from a non-linguistic approach, very little research has been undertaken integratively in this area with the intention of understanding the influence of the socio-cultural forces on the bilingual's conception of language and bilingualism on the one hand, and, on the other, the effects of linguistic competence and the structure of education as integral means of hindering or agents of promotion or facilitation of linguistic performance in L_1. In other words, bilingual education, specially when referring to the ethnic minority's heritage language instruction, has been conceived and studied independently of the integration and deep interaction of these three components.

Obviously, where bilingualism from the end user's (pupil's) conception of the issue is concerned and its importance to the success or the failure of any bilingual education programme is claimed, we still lack an adequate framework. The literature on bilingualism is largely based upon how it is perceived by adults, be it parents, teachers or educators in different disciplines who may have - and have - different perspectives to those of the young learner at school or in society. Furthermore, research into bilingualism, particularly comparative studies for understanding the student's conception of the concept of language and bilingualism and its integration with linguistic competence and ethos factors which, together, affect the process and the outcome of bilingual education - has not been given thorough consideration.

The discussion so far leads to the conclusion that in order to understand *bilingualism how* in addition to *bilingualism why*, it is imperative to: a)

develop a conceptual and analytical tool to gain an initial understanding of a student's conceptions initiated from his socio-cultural system, b) to develop a more comprehensive background and operational conceptual model of bilingual education in which linguistic competence in the first and second language is included and viewed as an intervening variable mediating the effects of school achievement and as an agent of promotion and facilitation of linguistic performance, c) to explore the influences and effects of the structure of education, linguistic competence and students' conceptions of language and bilingual education programme in a two-way direction: i.e. both on one another and on the outcomes of bilingual education in general and on the maintenance of the heritage language (L_1) and culture in particular.

1.2 Background and purpose of the study

1.2.1 Background

This study, which in fact resumes to be an operationalized extension of my earlier thoughts was initiated in the light of my previous experience, dialogues, discussions and a pilot study (Sahaf, 1989) on the necessity of understanding the process and outcome of bilingual education programmes from the bilingual individual's conception of language and bilingualism initiated from his socio-cultural context and his experience of learning L_1 and L_2 in the context they are delivered and received. This assumption needs closer attention and scrutiny since most of the research studies on bilingual education - specially when references are made to ethnic minority groups - and issues of bilingualism in West European countries, the United States and Canada very much concern such issues as perceived by adults or educators and researchers in different disciplines who have a different perception from those of bilingual individuals. Such research studies may have been mixed with the individual adult's sense of nationalism or a researcher's paradigmatic limitations and/or bias.

On the contrary, in order to obtain the answers to its research questions, this study is inspired by the reactions and the experience of bilingual bicultural students. Being of a multidisciplinary nature, this study can also be traced back to trends in linguistics, sociology and recent findings in psychology, pedagogy, culture and educational organization theories, especially the study of a history of bilingual education, and where bilingual education is tackled from cognition, intelligence, attitude and motivation points of view. The study can also be traced back to recent language learning theories, and bilingual education models with references to the conception of bilingualism in the Middle Eastern countries and the idea that *all human beings are born to be bilinguals.* From a methodological point of view, the study is based in a comparative qualitative approach and three interrelated and overlapping mother-tongue teaching research cate-

gories namely: (a) serendipitous research; (b) curriculum-centred research, and (c) hypotheses-testing research.

Thus, the study is intended to be carried out in two phases: in the first phase, an attempt will be made to understand *how* and *why* - from the experience of minority language students - heritage language should be used in instruction at all and if so what forms heritage-language instruction should take or what roles the individuals and/or organizational models/ types of education play in this respect. In addition, phase one intends to fully focus on the identifications of the existing curricular objectives of heritage-language instruction programmes in general and the related practices, the pedagogical strengths and limitations of such instruction in the formal settings of schools as the minority-language students perceive or have experienced.

Based on the conclusions drawn from phase one, the second phase of the study intends to discuss and to analyse the empirical data for the recommendation of the possible functional and more effective alternative curriculum, content, method, control and context of heritage-language instruction/bilingual education.

1.2.2 Purpose of the study

This study tackles *bilingualism how, bilingualism why*, with randomly selected subject groups of different ages in Linköping and Norrköping, Sweden. Details will be given in chapter six. The main purpose of the study is to achieve a better understanding of:

How and *Why* the Iranian minority language students' conceptions of language and bilingualism as a strong factor affect the success and the failure of bilingual instruction programmes and *who else* or *what else* in a society helps maintain or change their attitude towards their heritage language and native culture.

The above purpose is a combination of how and why of the research questions. The former addresses the manner and the description of minority language students' behaviour and the programme characteristics, and the latter goes deeper to explain the reasons causing these characteristics and behaviour.

Within the framework of this purpose, the following objectives are focused on:

a. to explore and to describe whether the Iranian minority-language students desire to maintain their mother-tongue skills and develop their cultural identity, and so to incorporate these issues in their education;

b. to study what social, psychological, pedagogical, linguistic and cultural factors influence their process of choice in this respect both from society 1 and in society 2;

c. to explore the influences and effects of the structure of education, linguistic competence and students' conceptions of language and bilingual education programmes in a two-way direction: i.e. both on one another and on the outcome of bilingual education in general, and on the maintenance of the heritage language and native culture in particular;

d. to discuss, in a historical comparative/interpretative approach, a holistic background for the role of individuals in their process of choice of language and culture: shifting to the dominant, mixing with others and/or maintaining their own;

e. to explore, discuss and propose possible functional, more effective alternative education types for the instruction of heritage language and the practice of native culture specifically by answering these five subquestions: (i) What to teach? (ii) How to teach? (iii) Whom to teach? (iv) Who should teach and with what effect? (v) Where to teach and under what circumstances?

1.2.3 The scope of the study: Limitations and Delimitations

The scope of the study is limited to the following respects:

1. Since the primary interest in this research is to explore the Iranian students' conceptions of bilingual/bicultural education in the context of Sweden as a strong and decisive factor which influences the success or failure of such programmes, it does not include indigenous minorities or other non-Middle Eastern pupils as subject groups. This is due to the fact that such studies are extremely context- bound in which the socio-cultural systems of immigrants (society 1) play an important part as well as the political, economic, educational, psychological and emotional issues when these people left their home countries. Furthermore, as its delimitation, the study does not intend to completely neglect the situation of other immigrant students from the Middle East due to their many cultural and linguistic commonalties with the Iranians. All these countries have a cultural (socio-cultural) system, components of which are partly belief system and ethnic or national culture and partly westernization as it is illustrated and explained in chapter 2. Thus, this research has roots in several disciplines, but each is examined to the extent needed to support the primary research interest.
2. Geographically, the study is limited to Sweden, Iran and, if necessary, to several countries in the Middle East. Sweden is the field of the execution of the study. A historical review of the concepts and practices of the issues of bilingualism and bilingual education - as existing in Iran and some of her neighbouring countries in the Middle East - are given to enable the subsequent comparative analysis to be made.

1.3 Disposition of the thesis

The study is organized as follows:

A summary of the aims, procedures, conclusions and the conceptual frameworks developed from a pilot study are given in a separate booklet. In *chapter one,* the problem area, the background and the purpose of the study are presented.

Chapter two contains a historical overview of bilingual education programmes in some West European countries, the United States and Canada as well as the concept of language and bilingualism current in some Middle Eastern countries. This chapter focuses in particular on the characteristics of bilingual/multicultural education in Sweden. The issues which generally arise in such educational programmes are explored. *Chapter three* concerns itself with major issues in bilingualism and bilingual education as related to cognition, intelligence, attitude, attitude change and motivation. In *chapter four*, different conceptual models and theoretical frameworks are reviewed. In addition, this chapter contains a discussion on the structure of education, organization theories and theories of culture.

The selected model for the study is developed in *chapter five*, and *chapter six* deals with methodology. Here, both the approach and the research instruments for data collection are discussed. In *chapter seven,* the findings are reported, and *chapter eight* presents a summary of the findings, conclusions, discussions and their interpretations.

Chapter 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: A SURVEY OF LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

With respect to its ultimate goal, the theoretical framework is to cover a wide spectrum of literature advocating the vast but controversial issues surrounding the debates on bilingualism and bilingual education. These issues are covered and reviewed in three distinct chapters, that is: chapters two, three and four. The key issues are to provide the study with adequate theoretical background data and support as related to the concepts and practices of bilingual/bicultural education with a focus on the home-language instruction programmes for three main underlying reasons:

a. for the selection of the components of a framework which can explain the interdependency of individuals' (students') conceptions of such instructional programmes and the programmes' success and/or failure;

b. for our subsequent references and arguments with regard to arriving at relatively adequate answers for the many *hows* and *whys* which may make such programmes more effective and which probably have not received sufficient attention and scrutiny so far, and

c. to investigate whether the structure of education, if at all, can influence both the process and the outcome of minority language programmes.

As prerequisites, based on the findings of a pilot study (Sahaf, 1989), some predictions have been made and, respectively, the major issues in bilingualism, bilingual education and/or minority language programmes are intended to be traced back both in history as well as in recent theoretical and empirical studies. However, different language theories, theories of culture, models of language learning, organizational theories and a description of types of education - to the extent needed to enlighten the study- will be reviewed as well as attitude and motivation theories.

Since the intention of this study is to tackle its problems in a multidisciplinary fashion, the content of the literature survey also covers several disciplines. The underlying rationale is the fact that *teaching processes are artefactual process, in the sense that educational processes serve basic functions in relation to economic, social and cultural structures of the society. Thus, any theory of teaching must be based on a social theory or assumption concerning the external function of teaching.* (Lundgren, 1977), especially when pedagogical phenomena are defined as the process of teaching and upbringing. (ibid., p 12)

There are three levels of educational analysis providing the basic premises of such descriptions and definitions such as :

1. *The interplay between the society and the structure of an educational system (organisation and curriculum);*
2. *The interplay between organization and curriculum and the symbolic translation in the teaching process; and*
3. *The interplay between symbolic transmission in the teaching process and the accommodation and assimilation of values, attitude, knowledge and habits by individuals. (Lundgren 1977, p 12)*

With the immigrant/minority language education and programmes in mind, the three levels of educational analysis are influenced by another dimension, namely the socio-cultural, political and economic factors of the individual's home country (society 1), especially when the minority student was not born in a host country (society 2).

Thus, the major issues reviewed in chapter two are combinations of views from a historical overview of bilingual education back in history as well as both recent theoretical and empirical findings. The data is intended to be collected from two hemispheres: the western world and from some eastern nations. From the West, the North American experience and judgements which are both plentiful and controversial are reviewed to have diversified the case as well as to have examined the results when the same research methods and procedures are replicated by the European countries. The greatest emphasis is on Sweden for three reasons:

a. Sweden is the field for the execution of the study;
b. "The Home-Language Reform Bill", which came into force in 1977, has created a unique situation for the research on the issues of bilingualism and minority language programmes, especially in view of the fact that about 150 nationalities are represented in the Swedish society, each with a different home language, and
c. the state has so far been very positive and generous as regards the issues surrounding the minority education programmes in Sweden.

From the East, the language situation and the concept of *bilingualism* in the Middle Eastern countries are reviewed. Many studies both recent and old (Bhatnagar, 1981a; Dadfar, 1990) have expanded the view that the socio-cultural systems in these countries not only play a crucial role in concluding discussions of any kind and at any time, but that the influence of the other two dimensions namely local culture and adopted culture are evaluated based on the degree of the influence of the dimension *religion/belief system.*

The language situation and the concept of bilingualism in Iran is reviewed in detail. It is because (a) our subject groups are Iranian children integrated in Swedish mainstream schooling and (b) the exceptional situa-

tion of Iranians with regard to their conceptions of heritage language, culture and bilingualism.

Besides a review of the major issues above, some other clusters of literature which contribute to the study will be reviewed. First, language as being multifaceted, is assumed from the approach of different professionals in order to make a distinction between *performance* and *competence*. The reasons are (a) our approach to language is both a linguistic and non-linguistic standpoint for our categorization of who is or who is not bilingual and (b) the nature of language acquisition, the role of language in thought process and the relationship between language and social identity will shape some of our debate on bilingualism.

Second, the origin of bilingual education is reviewed in several parts of these sections: (a) to find out how the present debates surrounding our understanding of minority-language children were tackled during the course of time in different contexts; (b) to see whether this issue is so problematic as we think or (c) if there are easier means of approaching the needs of bilinguals.

Third, it was considered necessary to review types and models of bilingual education in some Western Countries. There are considerable variations in bilingual types and models. As such, in order to be able to draw relatively reliable and valid conclusions as related to the applicability, advantages/disadvantages of these types in research studies, some definitions and classifications need to be provided.

2.2 What is language

Language, besides being a means of communication, has always been at the centre of scholarly and philosophical debates on the very definition of humaneness.

Language is multifaceted. Even by professionals, it is not always viewed in the same way. Dubin and Olshtain (1977) argue that:

> For Linguists, language is the object of inquiry; while for teachers, language is the subject matter which they present to students. (ibid., pp 35-36)

Both the linguist and the language teacher are greatly interested in language, but each for different reasons and with different underlying motives. Falks (1978), from a linguistic standpoint strongly emphasizes the distinction between *competence* and *performance*, since it represents a major difference between the linguist's approach to the study of language and the approach of other scholars in education, psychology, sociology, foreign language teaching and similar disciplines. The linguist's domain is the language itself, so he/she is primarily interested in *competence*, that is to say: the body of knowledge that makes linguistic performance possible.

Scholars in other fields are usually concerned with "Performance", namely the use of language.

To a philosopher, *language* is not to be used as synonymous with communication. Language as, Lindholm (1981) argues, actually provides:

> *'The key to the world'* (ibid., p 83) or as Apel (1972) believes *'Language is a tool for world revelation'*. (ibid., p 21)

To Lindholm, it is through language that the world becomes accessible, comprehensible and meaningful to man. When approached in this way, the study of *meaning* includes not only the exact literal meaning of words and sentences, but also aspects of *meaning* that derive from linguistic performance, intentions of the speaker, knowledge of the world shared by speaker and listener, expectations of participants in a conversation and other matters that relate linguistic utterances to the general context in which they occur.

Now, let us focus on the phenomenon of meaning. *Meaning: what is it? What does it mean? Or what is the nature of meaning?*

A simple way of stating what *meanings* mean, is to say that they influence what we will *know*, *feel*, *will* (wish, choose), *can* (be able to), *do*. In this respect, Lindholm (ibid., p 128) attaches special importance to *interpretation* and *perspective*. He speaks about different aspects of the phenomenon of perspective and points out that we interpret a phenomenon within a given perspective, thereby ascribing to it a particular meaning. That is, he emphasizes *perspective meaning* and the importance of altering the perspective in interpretations of reality. Consequently, understanding reality depends on *person, context and personality.*

Meaning and understanding are also interrelated. "Understanding" means answering the question "what", as Lindholm says, i.e., interpreting a phenomenon and thereby giving it a meaning. Here, Lindholm argues for three concepts of "understanding" by presenting three circles of *verstehen* as follows (p 97):

1. *Understanding of motives*
2. *Intellectual understanding*
3. *Hermeneutic understanding*

- By *understanding of motives*, he means an understanding of the motives giving rise to another person's action. (p. 97)
- By *intellectual understanding*, Lindholm refers to the kind of understanding we gain from mathematical proof. (p. 98)
- *Hermeneutic understanding* refers to assigning *meaning* which enables us to know, to exercise our will to do. The two important features of hermeneutic understanding are: mediation (carrying across) and recreation which have interactory dimensions.

Kaplan (1964), reminds us that the aim of language is to say something - and not merely to say something about the language itself. He considers language as *artificial* and *natural* and says:

> Artificial languages, like those of mathematics and symbolic logic, acquire empirical significance with the help of natural language. Even when it is operation that serve to specify meaning. (ibid., p 288-289)

In modern times, language as related to bilingualism has created a vast and interesting domain for scientific inquiries. Hakuta (1986) argues that in recent times, the scholarly debates about the language have generally been shaped by more specialized concerns, such as the nature of language acquisition, the role of language in thought processes and the relationship between language and social identity. Furthermore, - as related to bilinguals - he argues that for social scientists who conduct such inquiries, the person who is bilingual/multilingual represent an intriguing case. It is, thus, necessary for such inquiries to take into account the delicate pattern of coexistence, co-operation and competition formed by the two languages of the bilingual. For there are two languages in the case of bilinguals, and more languages - as in the case of multilinguals - that leave their own imprints on the linguistic, psychological and social experiences of the bilingual or the multilingual.

Mackey (1967) argues:

> ... bilingualism, far from being exceptional, is a problem which affects the majority of world's population even within the geographical boundaries of the countries that attempt to maintain linguistic unity (such as through education in one national language). This is due to the fact that there are at least 30 times as many languages as there are countries. (ibid., p 11)

To Mackey, the following issues contribute to *bilingualism* world-wide:

1. The dominance of certain languages:

A few languages are spoken by large segments of the world's population, putting specific pressure on speakers of the numerically weak languages to learn the predominant language.

2. The dynamic forces of history:

The movement of peoples through immigration or migrant labour, invasion and colonialism and other upheavals all contribute to making bilingualism a far more prevalent phenomenon than might commonly be believed.

It can, thus, be concluded that the study of bilingualism should include not only the study of the bilingual person but also circumstances surrounding the creation of bilingualism and its maintenance or attrition.

2.2.1 Definition of bilingualism

What still remains controversial is the definition of *bilingualism*. In the study of bilingualism - as a multidisciplinary subject which cuts across several traditional academic disciplines: psychology, linguistics, sociology, anthropology and education - the problem of definition is the most crucial.

Weinrich (1953), taking a sociolinguistic view, defines bilingualism as: The *alternative use of two languages.* Haugen (1956), from a psycho linguistic perspective, sees bilingualism as: The *ability to produce complete and meaningful utterances in two languages. (ibid., p 6)*

Baker (1988), as regards to bilingualism and intelligence, finds the relationship between the two concepts both *central* and *controversial* (ibid., p 1). Central in that disadvantages and advantages of being bilingual have been historically defined by reference to intelligence. Controversial in that both terms are difficult to define, elusive to measure and evoke passion and prejudice. *Bicultural education* is referred to by Johansson (1985) as the *education based on the background of the pupils* (ibid., p 18). Popkewitz (1988), as in the case of the United States, defines *multicultural education* in relation to curricula concerned with cultural backgrounds of diverse groups, and finally, *home-language* is defined as *the language regularly and actively used in the home environment,* (Löfgren, 1986:4).

Cummins (1983) argues that a variety of terms have been internationally used to refer to the minority student's home language and to school programmes that teach those languages. For example, among the most common terms for the minority language are the following: First Language (L_1), mother tongue, heritage language, ancestral language, ethnic language, non-official language, etc. Thus, the term *minority language programme* is used to include both *bilingual programmes, where* the minority language is used as a medium of instruction and 'heritage language programmes' where the minority language is taught as a subject of instruction. The term 'first language' (L_1) is used when the minority language is, in fact, the child's first-learned language (although, as Cummins argues, in bilingual homes, it is not always possible to distinguish which is the first learned), while the term 'heritage language' generally refers to the community ethnocultural language which is not necessarily the child's first-learned language (or even used in the home).

On the other hand, based on the findings of Sahaf (1989), we must distinguish between home language, mother tongue and the first language, especially in the case of migrant children who have been away from their home countries for a long time. In this case, it is argued that home language, or mother tongue as its synonym, can be the first learned language, but not the first language in general with regard to the language in which a person gets his/her first learning experiences. So, home language or mother tongue is defined as the first-learned language which is regularly used in the home environment with a restricted implication. First language is de-

fined as the first language in which a child, a youngster or an adult gets his/her first learning experience.

The definition of a bilingual in this study is both broad and deliberately open ended. This study supports Haugen's (1953) definition of a bilingual. It begins where

> The speaker of one language can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language. (ibid., p 7)

The advantage of this broad definition is the fact that it incorporates a developed mental perspective, bringing the entire process of language acquisition into the domain of bilingualism.

But to many researchers, deciding exactly who is or who is not bilingual is problematic (Mackey, 1962; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Baker, 1985; and 1988). The factors influencing this decision are (a) issues of dimension and (b) the context or domain of language use. To be called bilingual, it is necessary to show literacy as well as oracy in two languages, (Baker, 1988). Mackey (1962) suggests four basic language skills: listening, reading, speaking and writing. These skills can be further divided. For example, in speaking two languages, people may differ in terms of the extent of vocabulary, correctness of grammar and pronunciation. As defined by Mackey (1962) there are at least 20 dimensions of language skill in each language. People have varying skills in listening, speaking, reading and writing a language. Within these four skills there are sub-skills in vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, meaning and style.

Fishman (1965) argues that if we add to the many dimensions of language, the context or domain of language usage, defining who is or is not bilingual becomes even more difficult. While someone may be able to speak two languages, one language may be restricted to home. Each language may be used in a narrow or broad range of contexts. The context or domain of language usage defines when each language is spoken, to whom, where and why. Therefore, Baker (1988), in support of Fishman's argument concludes that *there are no definitive cut-off points to distinguish the bilingual from monolingual.* (ibid., p 2)

On the other hand, to be unambiguous in our definition of who is or who is not bilingual, this study resumes Haugen's (1953:7, 1956:6) definition of a bilingual. In addition, to be more precise, we must make clear that our view here is a linguistic as well as a non-linguistic approach both for the catagorization of who is or who is not bilingual and for the measurement of bilingualism if we are required to do so. To this study, the important point is for the speaker of one language to be able to produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language. That is to say, to the extent that language substance and language skills are correlated. In other words, to the extent that the sender and the receiver of a message have developed appropriate, adequate productive as well as receptive or interpretative skills

in the two languages that facilitate communication and make it meaningful and understandable with regard to their age level or cognitive development.

2.3 The origin of recent bilingual education

The tradition of foreign language learning dates back many centuries in history. Asian, African and European merchants who travelled far to sell their merchandise needed to learn the *market-place* languages of the ancient world. The sailors, the government agents and the caravan leaders had, in one way or another, to make themselves acquainted with one or more languages or dialects. This is what Ericsson (1986) calls *the market place tradition* which is a non-academic, practical way of learning languages.

In the course of time, changes in social contexts demanded further concerns related to the teaching of classical languages and decoding classical literature. This method is called *The Monastery Tradition*, the manifestation of which, i.e. the grammar and translation method, still retains its firm position in teaching a foreign language or a second language in the traditional school systems. Thus, the concept of *bilingualism* should not be considered as something new or the *bilingual man* as a modern phenomenon. Bilingual education has a history going back to early civilization (Marlherbe, 1946; Lewis, 1977).

The origin of recent bilingual education in a systematic organized way dates back to the influx of Cuban refugee into Florida, USA in the late 1950s and early 1960s, (Hakuta, 1986). It was then that the Ford Foundation saw the need for an experimental programme in bilingual education and set up a programme in Dade County in 1963.

The goal was ambitious. It was intended to include children from both Cuban- and English-speaking homes and make them into functional bilinguals. The programme, in short, was oriented toward enrichment of the child's linguistic and cultural experiences. The teachers were both English speakers and Spanish speakers.

According to Mackey and Beebe (1977) subsequent evaluation of the bilingual programme at Carol Way supported the common observation, that in most respects, it had been a success.

The United States census of 1980 provides some estimates of the size of the bilingual population within that country (Waggoner 1984). Some 36.6 million persons - 15.3 per cent of the total US. population - were identified as "Language minority" that is members of families in which non-English languages (predominantly, Spanish, French, German, Italian and Polish) are spoken. Of these, 4.5 million are school-age children who speak their native language at home. Of course, these numbers do not exactly correspond to the number of bilingual people in the United States. The 1980's were characterised by the immigration of millions of people from the

Middle East: Iran, Iraq, Lebannon and Afghanistan to West European and North American countries.

After World War II, i.e. 1950s, the movement of people in and to European countries through immigration or migrant labour began. There are an estimated fourteen to fifteen million migrant workers in West Europe (Rist, 1979). One estimate suggests that a third of the young European population in the year 2000 is going to have immigrant background. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1978, Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins, 1988).

The point is that, this influx of immigrants to North American and West European Countries has had important consequences for both the modification and the development of educational programmes as well as providing new and rich directions for research, specially in the field of bilingual education and the education of minority populations. More details are given in the following sections.

2.3.1 Types and models of bilingual education

There are considerable variations in bilingual educational types and models. In order to be able to draw relatively reliable and valid conclusions as regards applicability, advantages/disadvantages of the types and/or models of bilingual education, some definitions and classifications of bilingual education need to be provided. The research on bilingual education does not necessarily deal with the same context or the same type of school or instructional model, though it is subsumed under the title of 'bilingual education'.

Bilingual education is defined as *the education in which two languages are used within the school*, Edwards (1984a: 185). In this respect, the two major typologies of bilingual education are: 'Transitional bilingual education vs. enrichment or maintenance bilingual education'. Subsequently, distinctions have to be made between: élitist bilingualism, vs. folk bilingualism and immersion bilingual education vs. submersion bilingual education as well.

Mackey (1970) finds a total of 90 different types of bilingual schooling. Nevertheless, research has mostly provided important evidence on each of transition, enrichment, élitist, folk, immersion and submersion bilingual educations.

1. Transitional vs. enrichment or maintenance bilingual education. The aims of transitional bilingual programmes are different from those of enrichment programmes. That is to say, in transitional programmes the improving the minority student's achievement in the majority language is always an important programme goal. The plan is then *to phase out Language one (L1) as the mainstream or majority language develops* (Baker, 1988 p 46) or as Cummins (1983) argues:

> The focus in transitional bilingual education is on salvaging the child, rather than enriching the child or salvaging the language or culture. (ibid , p 13)

The theory underlying transitional programmes assumes that academic improvement may result either as a direct result of L_1 instruction (for example, through facilitation of classroom participation) or as an indirect result of factors such as improved self-esteem, greater parental involvement etc. In short, we can formulate the aim of transitional bilingual education as: (a) fluency in the majority language. Examples are the United States and Europe where language deficiencies of minority group children are cured so that they can continue to be educated in the mainstream language; (b) the child's first language as an interim medium for school instruction. Consequently, such education tends to be compensatory in nature.

2. The aim of enrichment (maintenance) bilingual education is that two languages are kept active through all or most schooling. In maintenance education, both languages may be used in school, the pedagogical objective being to ensure that the child has good skills in both L_1 and L_2. Good examples are Canada and Wales, where English speakers are taught French or Welsh to enable them to be fully bilinguals. While maintenance programmes are labelled with pluralism, enrichment, language restoration and biculturalism, transitional programmes are most often concerned with assimilation.

In simple language, transitional programmes involve the use of children's home language as a temporary bridge to help them keep up with academic content while they are acquiring proficiency in the regular school language (Fishman, 1976; Mackey, 1971 and Cummins, 1983). Enrichment programmes (Fishman, 1976), on the other hand, involve the use of the minority language on a more long term basis in order to develop a bilingual basis. Whereas transitional programmes are usually intended only for students with a minority language background, while enrichment programmes may involve students with both minority and majority backgrounds.

3. Élitist bilingual education vs. folk bilingual education. Gaarder (1976) makes a distinction between élitist bilingualism and folk bilingualism. He argues that élitist bilingualism more often serves the interests of the dominant power groups and upper-class membership. To him, folk bilingualism is often by necessity and compulsion. In the case of the former, knowledge of two languages may have high cultural and economic value making it possible for a person to obtain access to privileged groups or high status position and power. Thus, élitist bilingualism derives from choice and élitist goals are set to be reached by the positive attitude and motivation of a person who learns another language not by compulsion and necessity but from choice.

In the case of the latter, *survival* is the main motive for a person attempting to learn another language. For example, immigrants or refugees who want to gain access to employment need to learn the majority language. Evidently, such language learners experience bilingualism as something imposed by the majority or by the politically dominant. Gaarder (1976) further argues that the distinction between folk bilingualism and elite bilingualism is important because it highlights the motives of children during and upon entry into bilingual schooling.

The success and failure of bilingual education programmes is partially dependent on the motives and commitments of pupils, their parents and the sub-culture. However, as our comments, the effects of such factors as the *Teacher thinking* : majority language teacher conceptions of such instructional programmes which have, in turn, been initiated from societal institutions that govern the use of language and the macro-incentives of such societal institutions as regards the whole process of teaching-learning interactional activities and on student's choice process, must not be underestimated (Lundgren, 1977; Härnqvist, 1978; Bigfood, 1988). It is noteworthy that while we speak about minority language populations, we must take into account the fact that they live in two worlds and initiate insights from two cultures (society 1 and society 2).

As related to bilingual children, the concept of *motive* needs to be clarified from different children's points of view. Baker (1988:47) argues that for one bilingual child, the motive may be to achieve high status in society. For another child, the motive may be for security and survival. For one, full commitment to bilingualism may be induced through the perspective of economic and social reward. For another, commitment may be lacking due to the imposition of bilingualism and where there are no or few perceived useful advantages of bilingualism. More details on 'attitudes' and 'motivation' as related to bilingualism are reviewed in chapters 3 and 4.

4. Immersion bilingual education and submersion bilingual education. In Baker (1988), bilingual education is graphically likened to a swimming pool. In this respect, immersion bilingual education paints a picture of moving gradually from the shallow to the deep end. Learners of a second language are allowed to use their home language as a life boat while being taught the skills of swimming. Children are allowed to use their home language until they are confident enough to start switching to the second language with their bilingual teachers. The practical goal of immersion bilingual education is to expose the children to a large amount of second language use in the class environment, but at the same time the children are free to use their home language while talking among themselves and to their home language teacher (Swain and Lapkin, 1982). Successful immersion bilingual education means that a student can use either language interchangeably or in Baker's (1988) words: *he/she can dive into either language pool and mix with either language group.* (ibid., p 48)

According to Baker (1988), the essential features of immersion bilingual education are:

a) *Immersion education is optional not compulsory*

b) *The second language is the medium for the teaching of all or most school subjects*

c) *Children are allowed to use their home-language for up to one and a half years for classroom communication. There is no compulsion to speak the second language in the dinning-room or the play ground. The child's language is appreciated and not disparaged.*

d) *The teacher is bilingual, but initially appears to the pupil to be able to speak the second language, but only understand and not speak their first language.*

e) *Pupils in immersion education experience the same curriculum content as those in non-immersion education.*

f) *Classroom communication in the second language must be meaningful, authentic and relevant, never contrived, repetitive or tightly controlled. The content of the curriculum becomes the focus rather than correct communication. Thus, second language learning is seemingly incidental, mirroring the manner a first language acquires.*

g) *Emphasis is placed on comprehension competency before production competency. Listening with understanding comes before speaking with understanding.*

h) *Pupils commence the immersion experience with the same lack of skill in the second language. Classrooms start with relatively homogeneous pupils in terms of their monolingualism. (ibid., p 95)*

On the other hand, in a submersion programme, the effort is to forbid the use of home language in the school environment. All instructions are carried out in a second language. The underlying idea is that a child tries to adopt the language of native speakers when he is thrown in at the deep end of the swimming pool and among the fluent swimmers (speakers).

Major organizational models or types of bilingual education are not confined to the above-mentioned titles. Different countries, based on their implicit/explicit educational objectives, use different labels for their bilingual education programmes or the education of immigrant children. These will be dealt with in detail in the following section when we talk about bilingual education in different European and North American Countries.

2.4 Bilingual education: An overview of the experience of European and North American research

2.4.1 General

Research from Canada and the United States of America on bilingual education is both plentiful and in many cases, though controversial, discerning. The North American research tradition- experience and evaluation - has always been a model replicated or duplicated by European, as well as other countries in the Middle East (Israel), Far East (Australia) and Central America (Mexico).

This section aims at not only giving a bird's-eye overview of the research findings on bilingual education in some countries, but will also examine and investigate whether such duplications and generalizations of research models and evaluations can be problem-solving in different contexts with different ideologies and assumptions about the concept of ethnicity and the concepts and practices of bilingualism and bilingual education.

2.4.2 Bilingual education for minority-language students in the United States

In terms of multilingualism, the United States has been a melting-pot. People speaking many languages: Spanish, French, German, Italian, Dutch, Portuguese, Chinese, Polish, Greek, Japanese, Welsh, various indigenous Indian languages and more recently, people speaking languages from the Middle East are represented in American society. In 1917, President Roosevelt urged all the immigrants to adopt the English language. The underlying idea, on the one hand, was the view of a unitary America, with shared common social, political and economic ideals and, on the other, to assimilate and to acculturate the immigrants. (See González, 1979).

The 1960's, especially during Lyndon Johnson's presidency, was marked by greater concern for disadvantaged language groups. The Civil Rights Movement, and the Civil Right Act of 1964, aroused interest in linguistic minorities. The Reagan Administration, on the other hand, tended to openly express unsympathetic attitudes toward bilingual education (Hakuta, 1986) and reversed the development of minority language education in the United States (Baker, 1988). So, we can argue that the overall characteristics of minority language/bilingual education, in the United States, as far as state policies are concerned, has nearly always been of assimilative and transitional nature. (See Baker, 1988).

The recent changes in bilingual education in the United States have been justified in a major review by Baker and de Kanter (1983) of relevant research. This comprehensive review, which was used to promote a policy

change during the 1980's, poses four instructional alternatives with regard to United States language minorities. The alternatives are:

1. Submersion. The home language is not used in the classroom. The language-minority children are placed in ordinary classrooms mixed with English-speaking children with the predominant philosophy of *either sink or swim.*
2. English as a Second Language (ESL). This type of instruction is mainly a submersion educational programme with the exception that the children receive some compensatory English instruction.
3. Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE). The aim, as in all transitional models, is to use the home language in a reverse proportion to the increasing use of the majority language (English) in the classroom.
4. Structured immersion. Based on Baker and de Kanter's report (1981): Immersion programmes, which involve structured curriculums in English for both language and non-language subject areas, show promising results and should be given more attention in programme development. So, in structured immersion, the curriculum is structured so that the prior knowledge of L_2 is not assumed as subjects taught. Content is introduced in a way that can be understood by students. The students in effect learn L_2 and content simultaneously.

Baker and de Kanter's (1983) study is one of the various reviews of the research on bilingual education in the United States. Among other reviews, that can be mentioned are Troike (1978), Dulay and Burt (1978, 1979) and Zappert and Cruz (1983). These latter reviews argue that bilingual education effectively promotes majority and minority language skills with minority language students and is preferable to monolingual English programmes. Baker and de Kanter (1983), however, propose four alternatives for the effectiveness of bilingual education in the United States, they have focused on the effects of transitional bilingual education as leading to better performance in language (English) or non-language subject areas. As Baker (1988) argues:

> The narrow range of 'effects' and 'outcomes' in Baker and de Kanter's review (1983) is apparent. English and non-language subject areas are regarded in their study as the desirable outcomes of schooling. Neither self-esteem nor employment nor the preservation of minority languages and cultures are considered as other valuable alternative outcomes. (ibid., p 82)

Willig's (1985) review of bilingual education in the United States contains a thorough discussion of the methodological weakness of bilingual research in this country. Willig's meta analysis reveals the fact that a major result of the current synthesis is the revelation that bilingual education has been badly served by the predominance of research which is inadequate in

design and makes inappropriate comparisons of children in bilingual programmes with children who are dissimilar in many crucial respects.

Cummins' (1983a) review of the literature advocating the minority language programmes in the United States leads to four conclusions. They mostly appear to have summarized the positive side of the American research experience.

> • A First Conclusion is that the data reviewed neither demonstrated the effectiveness of bilingual (L_1 only) instruction nor did they emphasize that L_2 - only programmes were necessarily ineffective or inappropriate. The data showed irrelevancy of the myth that L_1 - medium of instruction would hinder the acquisition of English academic skills.
>
> • A Second Conclusion is: some bilingual programmes have had positive effects in developing academic progress of minority pupils who might otherwise fail in school. The data showed that the improvement of students' performance was not clearly an automatic consequence of using L_1 as a medium of instruction, whether it be with the aim of language maintenance, enrichment or transition. Other factors if combined with the use of L_1 for instructional purposes may create an optimal setting.
>
> • A Third Conclusion is the potential role of parental involvement and interest, as well as the community participation for the success of bilingual education.
>
> • A Fourth Conclusion, concerns the impact of bilingual programmes on the education system as a whole. Evidently, bilingual education does not exist in vacuum. There are both cost implications and threats to a uniform mainstream education which can be referred to as negative effects. On a more positive side, bilingual education in recent years has increased concern and professional development among teachers. (ibid., pp 28-29)

Comments and conclusions

As our closing words for this section, we must conclude that the education of minority language students is extremely controversial in the United States as regards educators, the general public and policy makers. This is due to the fact that bilingual education on a large scale has been institutionalized. The passing of the 1968 Bilingual Education Act and the Supreme Court decision in the Lau V. Nichol's case in 1974 expanded the bilingual programmes across the entire country. Since the early 1980s, Federal and State laws tended to give more local control to school districts in implementing affirmative steps to help reduce the number of minority students who fail in school. Nowadays, intensive English programmes have expanded and substituted the bilingual programmes which are no longer popular in many areas in the United States.

As a result of badly served bilingual education in the United States and this country's policy toward immigrant languages, Fishman (1966) noted that :

> by and large, more linguistic and cultural treasures have been buried and eroded due to permissiveness and apathy that would never have been the case, had repression and opposition been attempted. (ibid., p 30)

In addition to the above, the most important reasons for the rapidity of the loss of native languages and cultures in the United States are as follows:

1. The work of educational psychologists, who at first - until the 1960s- gave bilingualism a bad press and supported the advice of school authorities who urged parents to give up the non-English language at home.
2. American Hydraulism, perhaps the most powerful of all, involves the close relationship between language and values and social identity (Hakuta, 1986). In this connection, Correa Zoli (1981) found that the most common reason the respondents offered for not maintaining Italian was to learn English quickly to be Americans.

For obvious reasons, evidence of such relationships can be found only in detailed personal accounts such as biographies, examples of which are Rodriguez (1982) and Jalava in Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins (1988).

2.4.3 Bilingual education in Canada

Canada has been the most successful country in keeping track of the linguistic composition of its inhabitants. A vast amount of literature provides us with bilinguals'/immigrants' current ability to speak their mother tongue as well as their ability to speak the two official languages, French and English (Baker, 1988; Hakuta, 1986; Paulston, 1988 and Genesee, 1987).

These issues are well documented in Cummins' (1983) literature review of minority language programmes in Canada. His study focuses on research carried out on four very different types of enrichment minority language programmes in the Canadian context: (1) the Ukrainian-English bilingual programmes in Alberta and Manitoba; (2) trilingual programmes involving Hebrew; (3) the Ontario heritage languages programme; and (4) French-language programmes for minority Francophone students (ibid., p 6).

The trends that emerged are summarized in relation to the effects of minority language programmes on the individual student, community group and the educational system. Cummins' review clearly showed:

> 1. That the time spent with the minority language when it is used as the medium of instruction results in no academic loss to students' progress in the majority language.

> 2. That students in some bilingual or trilingual programmes perform better in aspects of English academic skills than do comparison groups in monolingual programmes.
>
> 3. Generally positive attitudes of students in bilingual programmes toward both the programme itself and their own language and culture. (ibid., pp 17-18)

At the same time, Cummins found no comprehensive study that had investigated the effects of various minority language programmes on students' attitudes, while the data reviewed indicated that successful experience in learning a language in the context of bilingual education and trilingual programmes caused greater motivation in learners to maintain and/or to develop linguistic skills. Another finding worthy of note is the fact that community effects of minority language programmes have received less attention than the scholastic effects on individual students. But the cumulative finding was that all reports in several transition programmes showed the increased parental participation and involvement to be positive factor.

Critics' common belief is that the Canadian immersion education evaluation can be ranked as one which has been well replicated and which is by and large technically good. At the same time, they agree on some limitation and assumptions of immersion education evaluation in Canada and voice some criticism (Baker, 1988; Genesee, 1983 and 1985; Cummins 1984a; Trites, 1981; Bruck, 1978 and 1985a and 1985b; Swain and Lapkins, 1982; Roberts, 1985). Not all the criticism can be included here, but parts which are commonly voiced by nearly most critics - to the extent that they can be used in this study - are as follow:

1. An essential part of most evaluations is that the outputs of the research mostly concern that which is measurable. In many cases, an integrative paradigm (a mixture of qualitative and quantitative evaluation) could add more meaning to the findings.
2. The evaluations concern immediate or short-term outcomes related to pupils' performance. Thus, the long term effects are not examined.
3. Immersion students in many evaluations are matched with mainstream control groups. This comparison is by no means acceptable since absolute equivalence in such cases is impossible.
4. Many experiments have used only a narrow range of educational and psychometric tests which may lack breadth or depth in terms of curriculum outputs and fail to address many issues that are raised socially, professionally as well as, at times, issues which are interesting to parents as well as pupils.

The findings are by and large taken for granted. But, we know that expectations, situations, needs of children, wishes of children's parents and the

values and commitments, etc., not only vary from context to context, but may change over time. A change in one aspect, may change the whole.

Comment

Does the immersion experience only work with children of high ability and from the middle class? What if the pupils are from another part of the world and are socioculturally and educationally motivated differently with different wishes, expectations, values and motivation when they find themselves, in a somewhere which we call society 2, and where they are called immigrants; where dissimilarities are extreme and similarities are hard to find. Examples are immigrant children from Asia or Africa in the European and American countries where they usually feel that they are not welcome and that they are outsiders. The answer is left to the discussion in the following sections.

2.4.4 Bilingual education/Minority-language programmes in Europe

General

Before dealing with the issues of bilingual education for minority ethnic groups or the minority language programmes in Sweden, a general overview of the policy context in the European Economic Community (EC) is indispensable.

The economic expansion of European countries during the 1960s brought with it millions of foreign workers to the industrial and economic centres in Europe (European Commission, 1978). A large percentage of the millions of immigrant workers' children at the end of their compulsory education did not have the job qualifications for employment. Among other measures, the teaching of mother tongue was regarded by the EC as an important means of promoting educational survival for immigrant students. According to EC Council Directive (July 25, 1977), the member states were advised to promote the education of the children of immigrant workers by including the teaching of their home languages and cultures in normal educational activities. This trend was celebrated as the greatest innovation of recent years; since the mother tongue was looked upon as a significant component of the child's personality which is crucial to his/her psychological well-being and facilitates integration into a new environment.

The EC Council Directive faced controversial debates both in those countries which endorsed the directive and those which did not. An example of the latter is Britain. For a complete discussion, reference is made to Cummins, (1983) Rist, (1978); Tosi, (1981); Skutnabb-Kangas, (1981 a). What is important to this study is the general cumulative conclusions that evaluation of bilingual/minority language programmes in co-ordination

with mother tongue teaching has produced. From the European data:- EC members- the following conclusions can be listed in this respect: (Sweden is not an EC member so she is not included in this part).

- Bilingual programmes will not at any way hinder children's acquisition of academic skills and may,
- in some cases, facilitate this process as well as promoting children's knowledge of their mother tongue.

Among European countries, The Irish experience of bilingual education has much to offer. Baker (1988) argues that all minority languages have something to learn from the history of the Irish language (for discussion, reference is made for example, to Mac Namara (1966). The evaluation of a historical perspective of Irish Language Teaching in national schools led to the following conclusions:

1. Minority languages in schools can, like the tide, ebb and flow with action and reaction.
2. Conformity to school objectives is easily obstructed by the later freedom of choice in the medium of communication and mode of culture. Compulsion may so easily result in rejection.
3. To be taught Irish is not to become Irish. Being made able to speak a language does not automatically lead to speaking that language. Potential is not the same as production.

It is worth mentioning that there is a similarity between the findings in the European context with regard to mother-tongue teaching and the findings of similar research in Canada and the United States. This can be attributed to the fact that the North American research, design and variables have been replicated by the Europeans.

The Swedish immigrant situation, bilingualism and the minority language programmes in Sweden: A historical overview

Until a few decades ago, Sweden, as compared to other nations in Western Europe, was ethnically and linguistically homogeneous. With the exception of the Saames or Lapps, the indigenous minorities within the present borders of Sweden, the most important ethnic groups that have migrated to Sweden in earlier times are the Germans, the Finnish, the Gypsies and the Jews (Paulston, 1988).

After the Second World War, Sweden became an immigrant country. In addition to the labour-market migration which began in the 1950s; groups of immigrants or refugees have come to Sweden from Latin American countries, the Far East, the Middle East and other countries far and near. It is estimated that 130 (Löfgren, 1988)/150 nationalities (Paulston, 1988) representing in the Swedish communities have had important consequences

for both the modification and the development of education programmes in Sweden. Prior to large scale immigration to Sweden during the second half of the 1960s Tingbjörn (1976); Skutnabb-Kangas, (1988), Sweden had very little experience of immigration and multicultural societies. Within two decades, this immigration radically changed the population structure of Sweden.

Of Sweden's approximately eight and a half million inhabitants, about one million are immigrants and their descendants. This wave of migration to Sweden has still not stopped. Every year, large numbers of immigrants from different countries and for different reasons come to Sweden. According to Immigration Department sources in Sweden, 14042 in 1978 and 16125 immigrants in 1988 came to Sweden from different parts of Europe, Latin America, Asia and the Soviet Union (Statistics 1988).

Immigrants are unevenly distributed geographically in Sweden. There are major concentrations in urban areas: Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö, in the region around Stockholm and in certain industrial areas in Southern Sweden. This does not mean that immigrants do not live in noticeable numbers in other parts of the country. Nowadays, immigrant populations in respectively large numbers live from Kiruna in the most northern part of Sweden to the farthest south parts of the country; in villages as well as in big towns and cities. The age range of immigrants is also uneven. The majority of immigrants are children, teenagers, young and middle-aged people who have children and have formed a family.

These are the issues which have brought with them a revolutionary change in Swedish schools. As Tingbjörn, in Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins, (1988) predicts, by the year 2 000, every third pupil in compulsory school will have a home-language other than Swedish. At present, tens of thousands of immigrant pupils attend Swedish schools, a majority of which participate in some form of home-language instruction.

The political situation and its consequences

A government commission on immigrants was appointed in 1968. In 1974, (SOU, 1974:69), its main report: The *Immigrants and the Minorities* was published. The commission emphasized three main objectives (aims) for future policy concerning immigrants and minorities:

Equality: Equal possibilities and opportunities as regards access to information, education and cultural practice for ethnic minorities/immigrants as for the rest of the population.

Freedom of choice: The immigrants were entitled the right of choice concerning the extent to which they wished to maintain their own language and cultural identity or to adopt a Swedish language and cultural identity.

Partnership: This goal emphasises the importance of co-operation between immigrant or minority groups and the majority population and the possibility for immigrants to participate in decision - making activities concerning their situation.

The 1975 legislation (prop. 1975) - dealing with cultural policies - states that:

> All groups in society are entitled to have equal possibilities to maintain and to develop their home language and to practice their cultural activities. (ibid., p 26)

This ambitious legislation as a political decision ratified by the Swedish Parliament actively changed the picture of Sweden from a pure, culturally homogeneous country to a culturally heterogeneous one and supported the idea of multi-lingualism and multicultural society.

In 1977 the "Home Language Reform Bill" was passed by the parliament. According to this bill, all students whose mother tongue (home language) is other than Swedish, are entitled to receive home language instruction during their nine years of comprehensive school as well as in upper secondary school. In this case, *a home language is defined as the language regularly and actively used in the home environment* (Löfgren, 1986:4). The aim of the home language instruction programme is explained as: *to develop the student's knowledge of his/her home language which is used in his/her daily environment. The home language programme consists of home language instruction and tutorial assistance in the home language.* This means that a student can receive help in any subject from the home-language teacher. Furthermore, since the enactment of the Home Language Reform, the education and language situation of immigrants at different levels have repeatedly been examined and investigated. According to SOU (1982, 1983), two government commissions have investigated the situation of pre-school age children and the situation for language and cultural maintenance among immigrant children in primary and secondary school. The educational goals for immigrant primary school children now in force, are described in a centrally framed curriculum (Lgr. 1980).

These are the issues that provide the goal of active bilingualism for Sweden which differs from the current instructional goal of immigrant minorities in other countries. The goal of active bilingualism is a result of one of the goals of Sweden's immigrant policy, namely *Freedom of Choice.* This implies that immigrant pupils' language learning should be "active bilingualism", and that they should be able to use both their languages in all necessary and desired situations on the level of a first language, i.e. both those situations which arise as a result of demands made by immigrants' surroundings, and also those in which they wish to participate. *Their bilingualism should be a double-sided first language competence* (Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins, 1988:107).

Bilingual and multicultural programmes in Sweden

Four major instructional organisational models are used for the education of immigrant children in Sweden, (Statistics Sweden, 1983:490).

1) Ordinary Swedish classes: (The mainstream home-language model). There are usually two lessons weekly in the home-language. In addition, there may be some extra help in various school subjects in the home-language. In this case, the immigrant children may be temporarily pulled out for home-language instruction and/or Swedish as a second language instruction.

2) The composite classes: (Integrated classes) consisting of approximately half Swedish-speaking children and half immigrant children from the same language background. The immigrant children are separated and taught for a part of the time in their own group and part of the time with their Swedish classmates. Little by little, the amount of Swedish use increases successively until the children can be placed in the regular Swedish classes.

3) The monolingual mother-tongue classes: In this model, teaching Swedish as a second language is postponed until later times, in cases grade 3, and all instructions are carried out through the medium of home-language. Ekstrand (1983) critically considers the future problems arising from monolingual mother-tongue classes. He argues that :

parents, home-language teachers and immigrant associations demand that such classes should continue also during grades 7-9. This seems just postponing the difficulties of immigrants' L2 learning for upper secondary education and subsequently to higher education and/or the labour market. (ibid., p 4)

4) Preparatory classes (Förberedelse): ... in which students from a variety of language backgrounds are instructed together on a temporary basis.

Some Reflections

At this point, it should be recognized, however, that the above are only descriptions of some models and that in reality instructional activities within any particular model type can vary considerably. No model per se can guarantee the success of the participants. That is to say, many factors- as the components of any special educational programme whether it be preparatory, compensatory, remedial and/or alternative courses and programmes for immigrants- are considered to be the decisive results of the social structure of society, state laws and the country's formal educational goals and objectives based on her social, economic and political contexts (context variables). In addition, individual characteristics of both teachers and learners, the educational process, the educational results desired and the educational results achieved are the main components to be considered in the evaluation of any educational programmes.

To this end, according to Wolf (1984) some major classes of information will be needed:

1. Initial status of learners. That is to say: (a) who learners are and (b) how proficient they are with regards to what they are supposed to learn.

2. Learners performance after a period of treatment that is to say that education ventures are intended to bring about changes in learners. Hence, it is crucial to determine whether the learners have changed in

the desired way. However, as a priority, it should be ascertained whether learning has occurred, and if so, to what extent.

3. Programme implementation. The evaluation study needs to be aware of: (a) whether the treatment was enforced. If so, to what extent? (b) were the personnel and material necessary for the programme available. (c) how an educational programme is carried out?

4. Costs as a major factor and the real problem for the administration.

5. Supplemental information. This is the information about the effects of a programme, curriculum or institution with the purpose of finding out how an educational treatment is viewed by various groups. These can play crucial roles in evaluating the overall worth of a programme in a larger institutional context. The most important of all is supplemental information gained about *learners' performance* not specified in the objective of the programme and which - to this study - arises mostly from the student's conception. Student's conception in this respect has been claimed to be a strong factor which influences the success and/or failure of any programme and in the case of bilingual students it may create such an attitude or intrinsic motivation as to make L_1 - L_2 programmes a success or a mere failure.

Moreover, the influence of other factors which affect the quality of any programme from outside should not be underestimated. Two of these factors, which Askling (1988) takes into account are: what *else?* and *who else?*. (ibid., p 16)

Summary

The purpose of this section was initially to trace the issues of bilingual education and the minority language programmes in Sweden. As such, it is not within the capacity of this part of the study to consider a complete description of all the components affecting both the process and the results achieved by such programmes. These will be focused upon in the relevant sections of this study. The rest of this section concerns the description and discussion on: (a) Bilingual research-based findings in Sweden (b) aims of bilingual education at different levels: pre-school - primary and secondary - and the related contents and curricula to the extent that they have not already been discussed. (c) criteria of the selection of home language teachers; their working environment (d) the situation of immigrant students.

The nature of research studies on bilingualism and minority language programmes in Sweden

Sweden has experienced considerable debate about the desirability of minority language instruction co-ordinated with normal education since the early seventies. The municipalities have, since 1977, offered some form of L_1 instruction when requested by minority groups. As regards mother-tongue teaching at pre-school, primary school and secondary school,

Sweden holds a unique position among Western countries with different types of bilingual education.

The explicit goal of the official Swedish home language teaching policy is not primarily to facilitate or encourage the return of immigrants to their country of origin (Cummins, 1983) as has been the case in Bavaria, but to provide a strong foundation for academic and personal growth resulting in full participation in Swedish society. Jakobsson (1981) expresses the rationale underlying the official Swedish policy for the goal of home language instructional programmes as achieving active bilingualism:

> The findings in general indicate that when possible immigrant children should be given bilingual education not only to develop command of two languages but moreover to gain roots of identity, security and self-confidence. It is also important for the intellectual and emotional development of a child to be allowed to develop its first language. Furthermore, bilingual education offers possibilities to express cultural identity and to take part in cultural activities. (ibid., p 69)

The right of immigrant children to maintain and develop their mother tongue in school was first recognized in Sweden in 1962 (Hyltenstam and Arnberg in Paulston, 1988). The Swedish research on bilingualism dates back to the Swedish debate on the role that mother-tongue teaching could play in the education of immigrant children and the study by Hansegård, (1968). Hansegård's study concluded that the early introduction of Swedish as a second language in the schooling of Finnish-speaking children in Torne-Dallen led to poor knowledge of both the Finnish and the Swedish language. So, he recommended that the child's early school experience be given in the first language or otherwise, a child's poor knowledge both of Finnish and the Swedish would lead to semilingualism. Hangsegård (1968) emphasized the role of the mother tongue in the child's communicative, intellectual and emotional development.

Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) consider the function of the semi-lingualism of migrant children as a factor transferring and increasing inequality. They argue that it is pedagogically wise to give migrant children as much teaching of and in their mother tongue as possible, *if a complete lost generation of semilingual children is not to emerge any more. Such teaching will certainly do no harm, but not giving it, may prove fatal.* (ibid., p 85)

Although the term similingualism, with its heavy emphasis on the necessity of developing mother-tongue skills, has often been a major factor in educational and political arguments about mother-tongue classes, much criticism has been directed toward the concept as well as toward its use because of lack of empirical support among other reasons (Loman, 1974; Wande, 1977; Strout, 1978; Öhman, 1981; Hyltenstam and Stroud, 1982; Paulston, 1983). The cumulative argument is that the term semilingualism is misleading and it is recommended that the term no longer be used

(Paulston, 1983). The reason for this is that by concentrating on linguistic issues, it has diverted attention from the cluster of factors that contribute to immigrant children's poor scholastic achievements. Hyltenstam and Stroud (1982) argue that, in addition to linguistic factors, social, cultural, cognitive and emotional factors have crucial effects.

On the other hand, a number of researchers have not only strongly criticized but openly rejected the mother tongue hypothesis. According to mother tongue hypothesis, the child must first learn the mother tongue up to an abstract level before the second language is introduced (Hansegård, 1968; Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976). In a number of literature surveys, Ekstrand (1981 a & b) has found no support for the mother-tongue hypothesis and concludes that children can easily learn two languages during early childhood. Even Arnberg (1979) argues, in this respect, that children in bilingual families not only can learn the two languages, but can also differentiate between language codes based on a one person one language strategy approach.

Such criticisms are levelled at the methodological shortcomings. One such criticism is the problem of inappropriate methodological generalization as well as the generalization of findings from one context to another or from one group of subjects to another (Birgerstam and Wigforss, 1978; Ekstrand, 1979 and Pienemann, 1977). Pienemann (1977) argues that the results gained from children who have immigrated at various ages cannot be generalized to immigrant children born within a country, since the learning conditions for the two groups are quite different. Besides, Allwood, MacDowall and Strömqvist (1982) and Paulston (1988) have suggested a number of factors explaining the lack of consensus among researchers with regard to the education of immigrant children. First, there has been rather little recent basic research in the area, especially concerning the theoretical concepts on which the debate rests. Secondly, definitions of some of the dependent variables involved, such as *active bilingualism* are fraught with difficulties, as is the construction of tests that measure those variables. Thirdly, other factors suggested concern with such phenomena as researchers' view about assimilation versus cultural and linguistic pluralism, as well as how they view the process of second-language learning. Finally, a wide variety of methods have been used in the various research studies. In some cases, empirical studies have been carried out, whereas in other cases arguments have been based on secondary sources such as literature surveys.

Research studies and projects on issues of bilingual/minority language programmes in Sweden constitute a fairly comprehensive though controversial body of literature on bilingualism and immigrant education. There are numerous controversies in their findings, but as a whole they have been informative. The Swedish research on bilingual education can be divided into the following distinct areas:

1. General studies on bilingualism.
2. Bilingual education at the pre-school level.
3. Bilingual education at the primary and secondary levels.

1. General studies on bilingualism. These studies have focused on various aspects of bilingualism rather than on bilingual education per se. As examples, some studies and their respective research domain are given as follows: Dornic's (1979, 1980) domain of interest has been information processing and bilingualism. Arnberg (1979,1981, 1984b) has studied children's language development in the context of mixed lingual families as well as the pattern of use of the two languages in such families. Bilingualism and concept formation, as well as metalinguistic awareness in the bilingual child has been investigated by Aronsson (1978).

2. SOU: 1982 contains the lists of research projects dealing with bilingual education at the pre-school level.

As pointed out in SOU (1982), the conclusions gained can be summarized as follows:

> a. A knowledge in mother tongue is important for the child's security and development. (Anderson and Naucler, 1984; Naucler, 1984).
>
> b. Employment of permanent staff who are familiar with the child's language and cultural background leads to the positive results from such programmes. (Stockfelt-Hoatson, 1978).
>
> c. The programmes which focus on the special needs of immigrant children give better results with regard to both languages than merely placing the child in a regular Swedish group without any attention being paid to the child's language and cultural background (Arnberg, 1983; Malmö Socialförvaltning, 1980).
>
> d. Different models do not always function in the way they are intended.
>
> e. The need for further research concerning how the use of the two languages should be structured in the pre-school setting specially with regards to individual children. (Hyltenstam and Arnberg in Paulston 1988:500).

3. Virta (1983) has carried out a major literature survey on the evaluation of bilingual programmes at the primary school level. The majority of the studies have involved Finnish-speaking children with the purpose of investigating: a) Language development in Finnish and Swedish, b) The relationship between L_1 and L_2, and (c) The children's achievement. As an example, Toukomaas' (1977) study of 687 Finnish children from grades one to six attending Swedish classes resulted in the following conclusions:

a) The children showed normal development in non-verbal tests, but were below average in language tests in both languages. In general, school achievement was poor.

b) School grades were highly correlated with good skills in both Finnish and Swedish.

c) Children with good skills in their mother tongue often had good skills in Swedish.

Some research projects on minority language programmes in Sweden have found more implications for the policy makers as regards taking appropriate measures in order to promote the educational conditions of immigrant minority language students. Some example are:

1. The Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) report and the paper by Skutnabb-Kangas (1979). In general, these studies were designed to determine the level of Finnish students' academic achievement in both Finnish and Swedish and to explore some determinants of achievement. Though ambiguous to the reader, the researchers (Skutnabb- Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976) optimistically interpret the better performance of the students instructed in Finland as evidence that a strong base in L_1 is important to subsequent academic achievement in L_2.
2. The Södertälje Project (Hanson, 1979). In this project, the home language (Finnish) was used as the language of instruction supposedly through out elementary school, though from grade 3 onward Swedish became the major language of instruction. By grade six, the children's performance in this programme as related to Finnish (L_1) and Swedish (L_2) was reported to be almost at the same level.
3. The Lund Composite Bilingual Programme (Löfgren and Ouvinen-Birgerstam, 1982). The evaluation of this experimental bilingual programme for Finnish-speaking students in Malmö was carried out between 1972 and 1980. The instructional model proposed a two year mainly Finnish pre-school programme followed by instruction in both Finnish and Swedish from grade 1 to 3 with transition to regular classes at grade 4.

The results indicated that the Finnish students appeared to be developing proficiency in Finnish more adequately than similar immigrant students in Swedish-only classes. As their own assessments of the project, Löfgren and Ouvinen-Birgerstam (1982) conclude the following:

> After having followed the progress of the four groups of Finnish children through the project instructional model for four years, we have found that the model works well in the practical context and that it has enhanced the prospects of the Finnish pupils becoming functionally bilingual. (ibid., p 329)

4. There are a number of studies which give the causal relationships between some background variables and students' performance at school. One of them is Löfgren's (1991) comparative study between different immigrant groups and a sample of Swedish students both at elementary and upper-secondary school levels.

The research has drawn some informative conclusions when immigrant students' rate of language abilities in Swedish and in their heritage language are subject to school performance. The results showed that : (a) the most important factor for scholastic success is proficiency in Swedish, but not the home-language ; (b) immigrant students with a good knowledge of Swedish have approximately as good a scholastic performance as native Swedish students (ibid., p1); (c) immigrant children whose parents have had a higher education are more interested in home-language programmes; (d) Language ability in Swedish (L_2) and in the home language (L_1) are positively interrelated, but a knowledge of home language per se is not a decisive factor for a child to learn Swedish or for his subsequent success at school ; (e) immigrant students who have a good knowledge of their home language choose not to have home language instruction at school. (ibid., pp 25, 26)

5. Comparison of mother-tongue and bilingual models. The advantages and/or disadvantages of mother-tongue versus integrated or bilingual classes have formed the central core of the Swedish debate on the minority language programmes. One such study is Löfgren and Ericsson's (1982) comparisons of the above two models. The results of the language tests showed that children participating in mother-tongue classes performed somewhat better in Finnish, whereas those participating in integrated classes performed somewhat better in Swedish. Moreover, Löfgren and Ericsson (1982) suggest that the role of the individual and/or organizational model should not be exaggerated. If there is a strong desire for mother-tongue classes among parents and teachers, there are no reasons why these classes should not be established.

One criticism of Löfgren and Ericsson (1982) as regards the comparison of the above two models concerns:

1. Inadequacy of the rationale base as related to:

a. The selection of the comparing groups. The label mother-tongue class and integrated class gives, at least, the teachers different notions as to their class activities, setting objectives and their expected educational results in their specific class environment. So the children participating in any two different models cannot be equalated.

b. The students' exposure to either L_1 and L_2, among other things, is not or cannot be the same and so is the contents of the instruction as well

as the educational process leading to certain educational results expected or gained.

c. Teachers' (L_1 and L_2) conceptions of realities - initiated from the macro-level incentives - in either model is different and thus as a very crucial component affect both the student's conception of the reality of the practical aspects of his/her language and culture as well as the same issues with regards to the dominant culture and language and the process of the instruction in general.

2. The study's suggestion as regards *the role of the individual and organizational models*. Here it seems that there exists a definition problem. We need to clarify the following points:

a. If the role of the individual, be it the student or parents, is only confined and reduced to desiring mother-tongue classes or not, the study's suggestions seem to be problem-solving. But what if the role of the individual is referred to as the enormously crucial role parents can have in the education of their children regarding the reproduction of their native language and culture as well as their children's overall education.

b. Identifications must be made between instructional models, educational models/types and organizational models.

It is true that organizational models with regard to the definition of "organization" may not be considered as a crucial factor in deciding the success and/or the failure of the minority-language students' programmes. What we should consider here as crucial are:

1. Instructional models, deal with *hows* of teaching and learning in a specific context where the student is a subordinate.
2. Structure of education: formal, nonformal and informal types of education, deals with school ethos and directly or indirectly influence instructional models.

According to the definitions of formal, nonformal or informal types of education given by Ahmed and Coombs (1975b), education presents a view of being functional equating with learning, regardless of where and how the learning takes place. So, the important question is how learning situations are arranged, that is to say, the way education is delivered. This means that education can be looked at from *delivery perspective*. Bohola (1983:47) also adds a criterion that concerns the learner's awareness of the learning that takes place as *receiving perspective*.

As argued above, there is an interdependency between the structure of education and the instructional model. Having identified this interdependency, one can agree with Evans (1981) in categorizing education with re-

gard to the relationship existing between clientele and the school system and from the practitioner's point of view. More details will be given in chapter 4.

Conclusions and discussion

With regard to research concerning the education of immigrant/minority language students in Sweden, two main questions have formed the central core (Paulston, 1988):

> 1. Whether or not the mother tongue should be used in instruction and if so,
>
> 2. What forms mother-tongue instruction should take: bilingual or mother-tongue classes. (ibid., p 503)

A number of studies on the above two questions have been performed. As regards question one, the research findings have shown the advantages of mother-tongue instruction in the subsequent educational achievement of the immigrant children; while other research findings stand for the fact that many immigrant children placed in regular Swedish classes have been able to manage well enough.

As regards question two, controversies in research findings are greater. No clear distinctions have been identified due to the weight to be given to the selection of either bilingual or mother-tongue educational models; specially since we know that many other factors such as cultural issues, family educational background, social and political issues current in society, personal and environmental factors and, most important of all, students' intentions and their intégrative motivation play not only a great role in their performance but are also crucial sources of information for the evaluation of such programmes. These factors can be condensed and referred to as background variables, outer context variables and inner context variables.

Most of the studies carried out in this respect in Sweden have involved Finnish-speaking children. The Finnish-speaking minority groups in Sweden, due to their very especial circumstances, that is to say their attachments to their language and culture and their sense of nationalism as to remain Finnish have created a specific ecology affecting both the process of bilingual education of their children in general and the research in this respect in specific, particularly when researchers themselves are Finnish speaking. So much so that Paulston (1983) argues that the results concerning this group cannot always be generalized to other groups. Similar studies with different subjects will be informative in this respect.

Through the review of the findings of the Swedish research so far with regard to the bilingual/minority language programmes, the following findings have been found to be of significant in addition to the above general conclusion. They are as listed below:

- The results gained from children who have migrated at various ages cannot be generalized to immigrant children born within a host country since the learning conditions for the two groups are different.
- A knowledge of mother-tongue is important for the child's security and development. As such, a permanent staff who are familiar with the child's language and culture as well as a programme which focuses on the special needs of immigrant children give more positive results with regard to the acquisition of both L_1 and L_2.
- Based on comparatively few studies, linguistic backgrounds and schooling model have a minimal influence on scholastic success. The role of the individual and/or organizational model should not be exaggerated.

N.B. This last finding relates to a very limited number of investigations in bilingual education. According to other studies in the field, there is an interdependency between the structure of education and the perceived instructional models. In other words, education types are categorized in accordance with the relationship existing between clientele and the school system and from the practitioners' point of view. (Evans, 1981: Ahmed and Coombs, 1975b, 1974 and 1983; LaBelle, 1976, 1982 and 1986; Dore, 1980; Bohola, 1983; Coombs, 1982 and Simkins, 1977).

Mere comparisons of models to find out the feasibility of one model over another will not resolve the educational and philosophical problems surrounding the issues relevant to minority language programmes as related to the mother-tongue teaching. What needs to be answered comprehensively is the *hows* and *whys* that can make a programme successful or on the contrary leads it to a sheer failure. The fact is that any study that wishes to contribute to a deep understanding of *whys* and *hows* of bilingual education/minority language programmes must permit a comprehensive study at macro and micro level simultaneously as shown below:

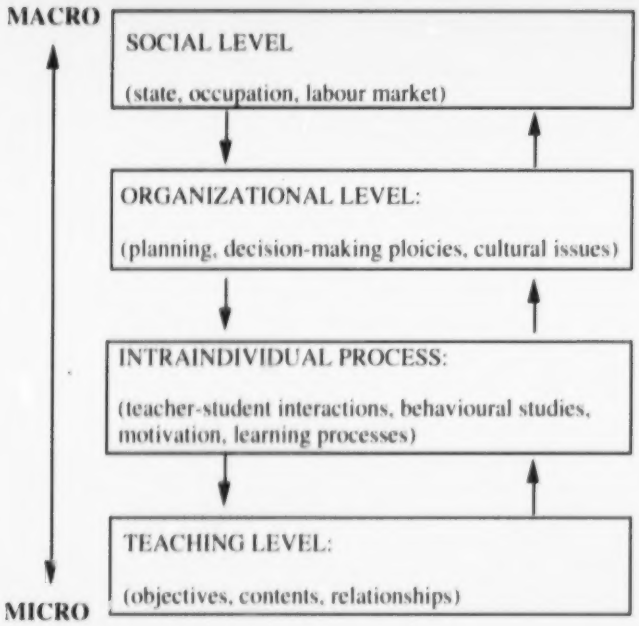


Figure 1. The proposed model showing the interrelationship of macro-micro dimension factors on the process and outcomes of education

2.5 The concept of "Bilingualism" in Iran and in some other Middle-Eastern Countries

2.5.1 Introduction

Belief system - as a dimension of the socio-cultural systems in nations - is believed to play a decisive role in specifying goals in any discussions on the political, economic, social and educational issues in the Middle East. This is no exception to the extensive agreement that the socio-cultural system of nations is established as a system, consisting of valid values, tradition, customs from ancient time (local culture), religion or belief system and those elements adopted from other cultures (adopted culture) as illustrated in figure 2. (Dadfar, 1990)

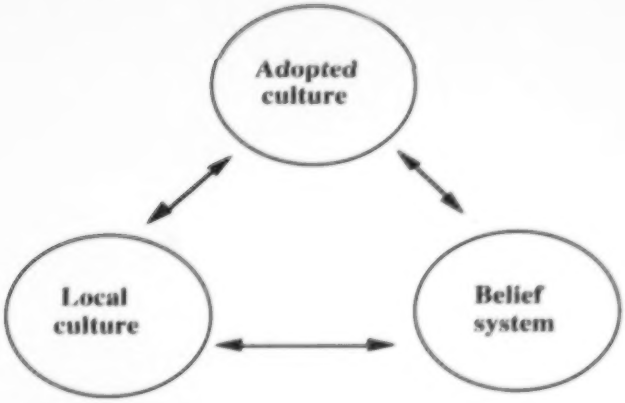


Figure 2. A model for the socio-cultural system in nations

Approaching socio-cultural systems in this way, we can depict the components of the socio-cultural systems in the Middle Eastern Nations as consisting of: non-material components of culture (belief or religion system); ethnic or national culture (local culture); and culture in contact (adopted culture). In modern times, adopted culture can be argued as any predominant culture in contact which motivates people to attend to.

Since, there is a general agreement that belief system has a tremendous influence over all aspects of life in the Middle Eastern nations (Aryanpour, 1974), the study of the concept of *bilingualism* and the *bilingualism in society* from a socio-cultural point of view, as no exception, should be given a priority, in particular when the subject groups have their roots in the Middle East.

2.5.2 Language situations

Before Islam (i.e. before 640 A.D.), the Northern part of the Arabian Peninsula was a desert-like land separating both the Roman and the Persian empires and was the target of expansion for both. In their conflicts, some of the inhabitants of Arabia joined the Romans while others allied themselves with Persians. These military alliances opened the door to cultural contacts that resulted in the creation of a bilingual elite. The bilinguals acted as military mediators and trade middlemen between the Arabs on the one hand and the Persians and Romans on the other (Alaa Elgibali, in Paulston 1988:51). The linguistic influence of the bilingual elite on Arabic was minimal, however, its domain was confined mainly to lexemes particular to the Roman and Persian cultures. Moreover, because both the Persians and Romans, at that time, were the superpowers in the area, they looked with disdain on the Arabic culture and, therefore, were not influenced by the Arabs or their language.

After the rise of Islam, during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., the great Muslim expansion reached inside the borders of distant Asian countries as far away as China and India. In North Africa, the Muslim conquerors invaded Sudan, Egypt and advanced westwards through Morocco, Spain and to a part of France in Europe. By this time, Arabic was linguistically established as the language of Islam and the new Islamic state (Meskoob, 1989).

As the result of the Arab domination over vast territories and the consolidation of Arabic as the official language of government, the new Islamic state faced several challenges during this period. The immediate reaction of the local peoples was to adhere to their own language in the face of the new language of administration. But in the course of time almost all the conquered territories in the middle East, except Iran, yielded to complete Arabization process in the sense that they accepted the language of the dominant and the Islamic culture. In Iran, according to Meskoob (1989), the Persian language was used only as home-language for more than two centuries.

To understand the language situation in the Islamic states at that time, the trend *Arabization* and the concept *Arabophilia* need to be distinguished between. "Arabization" was the attempts made by Arabs to make non-Arabs become Arab-like; and "Arabophilia" means non-Arabs wanting to become like Arabs (Alaa Elgibali in Paulston 1988). The effects of the so-called Arabization movement on the language situation in that period led to a slow shift to Arabic. It was because, as Alaa Elgibali argues, the expanding Arabs only wanted to spread Islam and nothing more. Besides, immigrant Arabs are quoted as having had respect for local customs and cultural norm. It was the Arabophile who, adopting Islam as a faith, accepted the premise that Arabic, the language of the Quràn, was the appropriate language for every Muslim to learn to speak. It was the Arabophile who, at the beginning of the Muslim administration, learned Arabic and acted as translators between the local people and the Arabs. In short, together, the Arabophile and the Arab translators represented the first generation of bilinguals in these territories. With the increase in the number of conversions to Islam and the growth of the population created by the migration of Arab Muslims from Arabia, Arabic began to dominate the common language as well as the language of communication. Although the rate of shift varied from place to place and for different reasons, the shift to Arabic in urban centres took over three generations (Alaa Elgibali, 1981).

2.5.3 Bilingualism

The official policy of the Islamic state was to allow bilingual education in Arabic for Muslims and in local languages for non-Muslims. These conflicts were eventually resolved as the majority of the local populations gradually adopted Islam and shifted to Arabic. Except for the Iranians who in their indirect resistance to win their independence, both maintained and

nurtured their language on the one hand and on the other, used their different language and culture as a tool for segregation from other Islamic nations. Details will be given in a subsequent section.

The brief discussion above reveals the characteristics of the bilingual education from the Islamic point of view and why, after the rise of Islam, Arabic became the educational as well as the scholarly language of the Islamic world of that time. Meanwhile, we note:

> • That bilingualism is not a novel phenomenon among Islamic nations. It is regarded as a fact of life or as McLauglin (1984) says: *Man is born to be bilingual*, finds manifestations among Middle Eastern nations.
>
> • Bilingualism has persisted for a considerable time and has resulted in shift only when cultural assimilation has occurred.
>
> • Based on the definition of *Arabophilia*, where people chose to adopt Arabic, as in North African countries, the bilingual contact situation led to a general shift to Arabic.
>
> • In cases of shift, the indigenous language may have been retained for religious purposes or as a home-language.
>
> • Where bilingualism occurred only for the purpose of upward mobility into government and administration, as in the case of the Greek domination in her ancient territories, the bilingual situation was limited in the extent of its domain. The final outcome was the maintenance of the indigenous language. A well documented example is Iran in her reaction toward the Arab invaders and their language and culture. They used their heritage language (Farsi) as a strong base to preserve their identity as Iranians even after several hundreds of years of Arab domination in Iran. (Razi, 1966; Meskoob, 1989, p 11)

2.5.4 Iran: Language, identity and the concept of bilingualism

A socio-cultural approach to the concepts of "Language" and "Bilingualism": A socio-historical study

By *socio-historical study* we mean: A glimpse over and the study of history and the social phenomena leading to certain events and/or conclusions. Such an approach can be interpreted as a reconsideration of the past events which are mirrored in our current conceptions and interpretation of realities and which are reflected in our future as being what we wish to be. The purpose is to present discussions about realities, but the points of arguments may not be realities in themselves. They are only means to this end.

The history of Iran dates back to more than three thousand years B.C. This country is one of the few ancient civilizations that have survived, while many others have risen, flourished for a time and then faded (Razi, 1966). Ethnographically speaking, the inhabitants of Iran consist of several ethnic groups: Kurds, Lors, Baluches, Turks, Turkmans and Arabs. These minority groups which have been included in the Iranian society since far

back in history, have both survived and retained their languages and subcultures despite the fact that the official language of Iran (Farsi) is a language different from the languages used by minorities at home or in their minority communities. Furthermore, the language of instruction at school has always been Farsi.

The retention of the cultural identity and the preservation of the languages of the ethnic groups in Iran while maintaining their cultural unity as Iranians can be attributed to at least two aspects (Dadfar,1990): (a) *Common spiritual and historical background* in the sense that they consider themselves as different branches of an ancient tree i.e. ancient Iran (Persia). Even those who have immigrated to Iran have adopted the Persian culture - as a sign of their Iranophilia - and so the incorporation of new ideas has enriched the culture of this country. Examples of the cultural and ideological integration can be seen in Persian philosophy, fine arts, science and literature as well as in the practical aspects of their everyday lives.(b) *Iranian national culture is deeply rooted in history and is a product of the interaction of a great variety of influences from many sources.* Some of the culturally important historical events are:

1) Persian -Greece interaction (330 B.C.)

This era begins with the fall of the first Persian Empire when Alexander the Great (Alexander of Macedonia) invaded Iran in 330 B.C. Since then, for a time the Persians ruled over some parts of Greek territories or were ruled by Greeks. This era is marked by scientific exchanges between the two empires in different fields of science and philosophy (Razi, 1966).

2) Interaction with Arabs (641 A.D.)

According to Razi (1966), the Iranians being dissatisfied with their ruling class and the social priority of the elites, were so easily attracted by the Islam motto that spread "equality" and "brotherhood" irrespectable of race, colour, language and nationality. So religious factors; humanistic teachings, as well as military factors from the Arabs' side and the discontentment of the Iranians from the ruling aristocracy and the long wars between Iran and her neighbours from the side of Iranian's facilitated the Arab occupation over Iran in 641 A.D.

The Arab occupation of Iran was not without its social and cultural influences and consequences. No precise evaluation of cultural changes has been possible, but what is generally agreed is that the Irano-Arab interaction was mutual. The Iranian culture was influenced by the Arabs in two distinct areas: religion and the written word. But the influence of the Iranian culture over the nomad Arabs had greater dimensions (Razi, 1966, Meskoob, 1989). The Arabs gradually embraced many Iranian customs and imitated the prevailing life style and the social relationship. In later years, the Arab rulers even tried to copy the official ceremonies as well as the

government and administrative patterns of the Sassanid Empire, (Meskoob, 1989).

On the other hand, as witnessed by many historians, a majority of nations conquered by the Arabs in the seventh and eight centuries A.D. such as Syrians, Egyptians and North Africans, shifted to Arabic as the spoken and written language. Others, such as Iranians and Indians, never adopted Arabic as their spoken language, though the Iranians shifted to the Arabic style of writing by adopting the Arabic alphabets. According to Meskoob (1989), during the long history of Iran, the Iranians never yielded to the dominant; instead the highly developed culture of this nation caused other influences from outside to be Iranized.

From a religious point of view, Iranians had many points in common with other Muslims in the Middle East, except the fact that after a few centuries of Arab domination over this part of the world, everybody except the Iranians had gone through the "Arabization process".

In order to gain their independence, Iranians resisted the Arabs in two ways: (a) Directly, i.e., through military force and riots (b) Indirectly, that is to say, through cultural resistance, (Meskoob 1989; Razi, 1966). After four hundred years, they concluded that they could not win the direct war over Arabs for their political and social independence, so they tried to resist indirectly in the sense that they tried to maintain their identity and culture by keeping their "language" alive. So, from this time on "language" was a shelter behind which and by means of which they continued their resistance to Arab invaders and attempted to achieve independence.

3) Interaction with the Far East: Invasion of Mongols and Tatars (1300 A.D.)

Mongols and Tatars appeared in the social and political life of Iran in the early 13th century. After they had caused the collapse of the Chinese Empire, they moved westward and attacked Iran from the east; they ruled over Iran until the beginning of the 16th century when they were succeeded by a Persian dynasty - the Safavid.

During this period, Iran was linked with China both commercially and culturally. In the course of time, the Mongols also became Iranized and acculturated the Persian way of life. They accepted Islam as their religion and patronized the Persian civilisation.

Socio-culturally speaking, the era from early 13th century to the beginning of 16th century enabled the Iranians, who had kept their language and culture alive, to flourish and to cleanse them of Arabic culture and language. Ultimately, the Persian language replaced Arabic in every aspect and little by little, the Iranians spiritually freed themselves from the supremacy of the Arabic language and culture and through their "language" they established their cultural unity again. (Meskoob, 1989: Razi, 1966).

4) Western Influences (17th century)

Western influence in Iran goes back to the 17th century when the European countries, particularly England, showed great interest in being involved in this part of the world. This influence first started in the form of trading, but with ultimately imperialistic intentions (Razi, 1966). This interest of the Europeans on the one hand and the country's need for links with the outside world on the other, brought Iran into direct contact with the West. During the 18th and 19th century and until the early 20th century, Iran became the target of rivalry between Russia and Britain, (Razi, 1966). Of course, the later role of other European countries such as France, Belgium, Germany and Austria should not be underestimated in the introduction of the European culture and modern educational system, vocational education and modern technology to Iranians. So, from cultural standpoint, Western culture has had a comprehensive influence over all aspects of the social, educational and life style of the Iranians.

To sum up, we can say that Western influence came to Iran first as a result of the political, commercial relationships with European countries and then by means of education either through European teachers working in Iran or through Iranian students who were sent to Europe as early as in 1815. The year 1851 was a turning-point in the Iranian education system. In this year, the education system was reformed based on Western models, and the first institute of art and science was established in Teheran where European teachers taught Western sciences and technology. On their return home, Iranian students who had regularly been sent to European countries since 1815, were the standard bearers of the European culture and languages in this country. They returned home to take up different jobs as teachers, managers, professors, translators, technicians and so on.

The foreign schools established in the capital and a few other big cities also played an important role in the spread of Western culture in Iran. In 1839, the first school of this sort was established by the French in Tabriz. Americans started their school in Iran in 1839 and the English schools appeared in 1870. Of course, the influence of the Western culture is not confined to these schools. After the Second World War, from 1950 onward, different European countries and the USA established their own language institutes to teach English, French, German and Russian to Iranians. But the bilingual education programmes, in the sense of studying a major world language in order to be more efficient as students, had already begun in Iran by 1851 when the first modern school, Dar Al-Fonoon was established.

Bilingualism in Iran: A Summary

In the preceding section, we took a glance at the components constituting the socio-cultural system in Iran which in turn led us to a relative understanding of the cultural characteristics and behaviour of these people with respect to the concepts "heritage language", as well as other languages,

(L_2) specifically, and its relationship to the maintenance of their national and cultural identity. Historically speaking, the concept and the practice of bilingualism in Iran initiates insights from their socio-cultural system: local or national culture, i.e. the pre-Islamic values; Islam, i.e. religious values and their adopted culture consisting of their interactions with different cultures, that is to say Greeks, Arabs, Chinese, Indians and since the 17th century, Western culture. Moreover, this review reveals the fact that *Iranians have always had a positive attitude towards multilingualism and multiculturalism (cultural pluralism) based on mutual respect and freedom of choice and in practice for the many minority languages represented in the Iranian society*. Although, since very ancient times, they believed in one nation and one language for a Unitary Iran, the majority never emphasized the assimilation and acculturation of the minority language populations. This is why, the minority communities have retained both their language and sub-cultures down through centuries. Nowadays, the minorities take as much pride in themselves as minorities as they do in being Iranians. They enjoy Persian music, literature and art as much as their native music, literature and art. The terms *majority population* and *minority populations* are religiously and nationally of no importance and meaningless when it comes to creating social class or social priorities. One important issue which is worth mentioning and which is current in Iranian pluralistic society, is the fact that the reproduction of sub-cultures and minority language is left to the minority language communities and families. They are responsible for keeping their heritage language and culture alive. The central government neither hinders nor facilitates this process. The language of instruction from kindergarten to university is Farsi - the official language of the country. *This issue reveals the important role of the family and the minority community in the formal as well as informal education of their children with regard to the elements which make them both loyal to and interested in their minority communities as well as their country.*

What we have argued regards racial minorities is for the most part true in the case of religious minorities such as Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians and others. They practice their mother-tongue and sub-culture at home and in their religious communities and family gatherings. Their religious institutions are responsible for the teaching of their language and history and for keeping both their language and their culture alive. The children are instructed in Saturday or Sunday schools, except for the Christian minorities who also have special schools. These schools are ordinary schools which follow the official school curriculum and educational activities. Only extra hours are devoted to the instruction of their heritage language, history and religion and the practical issues of their culture: music, dancing, poetry and so on. Such schools are financed by the minority group communities, but as related to the general education of the children, the Ministry of Education is responsible for and provides the schools with teachers and other means for evaluating the quality of education and instruction.

Officially accepted bilingual education is the normal mainstream education in which the students, from grade 7, have to choose a European language: English, French or German - to the extent that their subsequent education at higher levels is facilitated especially when there is a need to read foreign texts. Arabic as a second language is taught from grade three to all school children. The underlying reason is: (a) Arabic is the language of religion for Muslims and (b) Under the long influence of the domination of Arabs in Iran, Farsi (Persian) has been mixed with Arabic.

From an ecological point of view, the practical side of multilingualism and multiculturalism is seen in their everyday lives: in interracial marriages, in economy and in the societal distribution of minorities who have moved to different parts of the country, as well as their contacts with millions of pilgrims who come to Iran every year. For example, a simple shopkeeper in the Bazaar may have learned several languages to meet his needs in the marketplace. In interracial marriages, which are very common, the husband or the wife try to learn the language spoken by the other party. The educated people, have studied at least Arabic and one European language at school.

Natural and Imposed Bilingualism

At this point, the terms *Natural bilingualism* and *Artificial bilingualism* must be introduced and identified. In so doing, we believe that the study of bilingualism is better highlighted and distinctions become clearer. Especially, when we want to take the individual and/or practitioner's conceptions as crucial factors in our studies of bilingual/minority language programmes.

Natural bilingualism is characterised by the fact that a child has learned his/her heritage language first and learns a second language naturally and functionally based on the positive reaction he shows towards the positive action of society. This, in turn, constitutes a positive attitude and integrative motivation in a person. Interracial marriage is a good example where each party learns the language of the other. In addition, the following factors are proposed as ingredients of natural bilingualism:

1. The speakers of a language (x) and the speakers of a language (y) have culturally and socially many things in common and ontologically speaking have a wider spectrum beyond the racial conflicts and differences as regards multiculturalism and multilingualism.
2. The heritage language is active in the minority-language community and is used on an additive base dimension in relation with L_2. They may also have literature or other kinds of writings in the heritage language or at least the heritage language has, in some way or another, the characteristics of daily communicative problem solving.
3. Except in Western countries, the state plays no role in the instruction of the heritage language of minority-language groups. The families and

the minority communities are responsible for teaching their children both the heritage language and that part of the minority culture which is different from the national culture.

4. The dilemma of *majority* and *minority*, at least explicitly, are not issues for social debates and differences. The minorities are looked upon as units of the bigger society.

Artificial bilingualism is characterised as follow:

1. The heritage language is not the first well-learned language, or is learned in a society 2, mixed with or under the influence of the second language. Examples are those immigrant children who are sent to kindergartens in a society 2 at very early ages where the language of instruction is L_2 with no or very little help from L_1. In this respect, L_1 usage is confined to very limited language codes used at home, or with home-language teachers who are most often neither competent as teachers nor use their heritage language in a correct and acceptable way. In most cases, it has been observed that such teachers have lived for a long time in another country. L_2 is then the dominant language and so the child tends to be more competent in L_2 usage, both at the *productive* and *receptive* level.
2. The heritage language is not widely used in the minority family or minority community and little by little loses its communicative problem solving characteristics in the everyday life of the child. In many cases, it is used subtractively to the advantage of L_2 and in relation to the dominant culture.
3. In Western countries, the instruction of the mother tongue specifically and the curriculum planning for minority language programmes are mixed with the state's political, economic and social issues. This creates problems, especially when there are no cultural or sentimental commonalties between the status of immigrants and citizens of society 2. As an example, we can consider the status of Middle or Far Eastern children in a Western country.
4. The minority culture no longer retains its practical values. So, it is gradually forgotten and is replaced by the culture of society 2.

2.6 Summary and conclusions

In this chapter, three clusters of information and literature which contributed to the study were reviewed. These groups were the key issues of bilingual education in Western countries, The North American context and the European context, and the concepts language and bilingualism as perceived by the Middle Eastern Nations. Thus, chapter two was written with the intention of establishing a related core of ideas, a general perspective

on the concepts of bilingualism and bilingual education as related to the education of minority language pupils in Western countries as well as a view of the concepts of *language* and *bilingualism* in the Middle East countries.

The main aim pursued throughout this chapter was to select a partial framework which could explain the interdependency of the individual's conception and the effects of the structure of education on the maintenance of the home language (L_1) skills and cultural identity of immigrant students.

From the review of the key issues of bilingual education/minority language programmes as experienced and judged by several European and North American countries as well as their political, social and economic incentives which had given rise to their judgements, it was found that the trends emerging from the European programme evaluation data are very similar to those that emerged in the Canadian and US. contexts. The evaluations, both European and North American, clearly showed that a knowledge of L_1 is important for a child's security and development and that minority students instructed bilingually develop academic skills in the majority language which are as adequate as those of similar students taught entirely in the majority language. The improvement of a student's performance was found to be attributed not to an automatic consequence of using L_1, as a medium of instruction, but to the fact that other factors if combined with the use of L_1 for instructional purposes might create an optimal setting. The factors most agreed upon in this connection were found. *The common areas of agreement were clarified and it was concluded that the socio-cultural system of nations should be considered as a crucial determinant both in individuals' concept formation process in general and in their interactions with and reactions to pluralistic environments.* The results of the reviewed literature showed clearly that nearly all the research studies and evaluations of minority language programmes in the European contexts, have neither considered the individual student's conception and his reaction for or against such programmes as a weighty, crucial factor influencing the whole programme, nor have they placed adequate importance on the study of the effects of the structure of education on the micro incentives of the home-language teaching-learning process. Although the review of the related literature so far confirmed them as crucial factors in both teaching and learning processes, it was also argued that a major result of the current synthesis has revealed that bilingual education has been badly served by a predominance of research that is inadequate in design and that makes inappropriate comparisons of children who are dissimilar in many crucial respects. It was, however, commented that for the bilingual education to be appropriately served, *the research must depart multidisciplinarily, in which polarity of views is replaced by a complementary approach including a historical survey and analysis for a deeper understanding of causal relationships which cannot be explained by artificial language.*

The concepts of *language* and *bilingualism*, in Iran, both from national and religious standpoints in Iran were historically analysed. Socio-cultural systems proved to have a great influence on the individual's conception of language as well as on his interactions with other cultures and pluralistic instructional programmes.

In the Middle East countries, including Iran, the issues of minority language and culture were found to be unconnected to debates on the recognition of ethnicity as having a special status in public education. In this respect, bilingualism was found to be a fact of life and functional bilingualism *the goal for all individuals*. This led to the emphasis of the important role of the individuals in the process of keeping their minority language and culture alive and active and their positive attitude towards the learning of other languages.

It was also noted that being active bilinguals follows the law of action and reaction, when minority language and culture were suppressed, minority communities adhered to their native language and culture.

Coincidentally, the results emerging from the three contexts, in some cases, showed similarities. The common areas of agreement were: The importance of a knowledge of L_1 to minority children; socio-cultural system as a determinant for a child's concept formation; rejection of compulsion in language (L_1 - L_2) acquisition and the confirmation of interest and necessity; parental commitment and interest and, finally, the fact that being actively bilingual follows the law of action and reaction. The common areas of disagreement were, except in the case of French-speaking minorities in Canada, in Western countries, mother-tongue learning and practice characterize as artificial bilingualism while, in the Middle Eastern countries, it follows the pattern of natural bilingualism; the role of the individual in reality is much greater in the Middle East than in the West. In the case of the former, the minority individual and his minority community have the responsibility for the production and the reproduction of his minority language and culture, while in the latter the individual's role is minimised and the formal education in some countries has taken on this responsibility. In many cases, the execution of such a vast programme for teaching of home-language and culture has not been welcome or effective due to the detachment of home language programme instruction from the rest of the educational activities at schools. Neither the curriculum, the content for instruction and even time and place of instruction are specified nor is there any control or description of who should teach what to whom, how, where and with what effect.

These are the questions which must be answered with degree of far greater clarity and objectivity than is presently the case. Especially when we know that bilingual education, like other education programmes, is costly and it must have a rate of return in the form of student's ability to benefit from such programmes. This is surely a point of agreement among all parties, be it minority communities, the majority community as the investor, school authorities who have the responsibility for the pluralistic

education of children or the most importantly the children for whom these programmes are designed.

Chapter 3

MAJOR ISSUES IN BILINGUALISM AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

3.1 Introduction

> There is nothing good or bad, but thinking makes it so. (Shakespeare).

Is bilingualism bad or is it good? The common people's ideas as well as research findings are diverse and controversial. Bilingualism is good if it is served well; bilingualism is bad if it is served badly. In the previous chapter it was argued that despite so many controversial debates on the issues of bilingual education, bilingualism, is a good thing in itself if it is not mixed with the heat of the official recognition of ethnicity as a special status in public education. This is one of the pre-requisites of bilingual/minority language programmes to be successful. This was well discussed in our review of the concept of language and bilingualism in the Middle Eastern Nations, *where minority communities have survived both their language and culture over centuries in the same way they have appreciated the national language and culture.*

Hakuta (1986), by quoting Thompson's (1952) views on the trend of bilingualism in the US and Peal and Lamert's (1962) finding in the Canadian context drew a contrasting picture of bilinguals. According to Thompson, the American context judges a child reared in a bilingual environment as handicapped in his language growth, while Peal and Lambert (1962) see bilingualism as an advantage over monolingualism. Peal and Lambert picture a bilingual as:

> A youngster whose wide experience in two cultures have given him advantages which a monolingual does not enjoy. Intellectually, his experience with two language systems seems to have left him with a mental flexibility, a superiority in concept formation, a more diversified set of mental abilities ... In contrast, the monolingual appears to have a more unitary structure of intelligence which he must use for all types of intellectual tasks. (ibid., p 20)

The primary objective of this chapter is to review the literature on bilingualism especially where bilingualism is tackled from the perspectives of intelligence, cognition, attitude and motivation. The underlying intention is to see how these dimensions of the study of bilingualism can or may contribute to conceptualizing a framework for the study. First, we turn to bilingualism and intelligence.

3.2 Definition

No statement-type definition has been given to define *intelligence*. The reason is that intelligence cannot be directly observed (Baker, 1988). It has to be inferred from behaviour. Defining intelligence by behavioural acts gives rise to the issue of context in the sense *who judges*. It reflects a judgement as to who or what is of more worth (Mercer, 1978). In other words, labelling behavioural acts as more or less intelligent requires a subjective judgement which is culturally and sub-culturally relative (Baker, 1988). A lot of questions and if-clauses are related to this concept.

Sternberg (1985) argues that:

> Intelligent behavioural acts have a common denominator. Underlying each intelligent act is the same or similar mental processes, e.g. reasoning ability, logical thinking and problem solving. (ibid., p 24)

In our attempts to understand bilingualism and intelligence research, we need to distinguish between *monism* at the one extreme of a psychometric concept of intelligence and *pluralism* at the other. Monism, according to Spearman (1927), argues that intelligence is a unitary trait, one mental process, one overall ability (Dembo, 1977; Baker, 1988). Pluralism argues that there is a group of independent traits of intelligence, in the sense that intelligence is an umbrella term representing a number of separate factors, linked in a hierarchy (Guildford, 1982) or in a relational network without hierarchy (Dembo, 1977; Baker, 1988).

3.2.1 Bilingualism and intelligence research

There are three overlapping periods for the research which has examined a link between bilingualism and intelligence (Baker, 1988):

a. The Period of detrimental effects

In his lectures, Laurie (1890) suggested that:

> If it were possible for a child to live in two languages at once equally well, so much the worse. His intellectual and spiritual growth would not thereby be doubled, but halved. Unity of mind and character would have great difficulty in asserting itself in such circumstances. (ibid., p 15)

The detrimental effect of bilingualism on intelligence was not only suggested by Laurie (1890), but it was the common belief among educational researchers and writers up until the 1960s. During this period, the belief in the superiority of monolinguals over bilinguals was seemingly accepted internationally. Three comprehensive reviews (Darcy, 1953; Jensen, 1962; Peal and Lambert, 1962) of the early studies reveal the poorer verbal performance of bilinguals as compared with American monoglots.

A review of the research in Wales (Saer, 1922, 1923, Smith, 1923; Barke, 1933; Jones, 1959) also pointed to bilingual Welsh/English speakers having poorer performance on verbal IQ tests than monolingual English speakers.

b. The period of neutral effects

Research which reports neutral effects is not numerous. This approach to the relationship between bilingualism and intelligence was of interest for only a short period, but at the same time it overlapped either the detrimental period or the period of additive effects. This period is also marked by the view that monoglots are superior to bilinguals (Jones, 1955). Peal and Lambert's (1962) review demonstrated similar results to Jones (1959) in the US. As an example, one of the studies (Pintner and Arsenian, 1937) found a zero correlation between verbal and non-verbal IQ and Yiddish-English bilingualism.

c. The period of additive effects

The 1960s were a transitional period in the history of bilingualism and intelligence research and Peal and Lambert's (1962) research on the issues can be argued to be a major step in this history. It articulated the belief that bilingualism can enhance cognitive functioning.

The research from this period onward (a) is methodologically more advanced; (b) is regarded as an improvement on previous studies; (c) finds that bilingualism may have positive outcomes; (d) supports bilingual policies in different countries, (e) lays the foundation for further research aimed at finding positive consequences of bilingualism in terms of a wider view of cognitive abilities rather than in terms of the narrow concept of IQ-convergent thinking.

Peal and Lambert's (1962) historical research not only laid the foundation for richer research during the 1970s but also provided fruitful foundation for further development. Peal and Lambert showed the researchers both the means and the ends by arguing that a bilingual shows:

1. Greater mental flexibility
2. The ability to think more abstractly, less concretely, more independently of words, resulting in superiority in concept formation: Divergent thinking.
3. A more enriched bicultural environment which benefits IQ
4. Positive transfer between languages benefiting verbal IQ

3.2.2 A Summary of research findings

It was found that the most severe limitations and criticism of the bilingualism and intelligence research lies in the problems of defining and measuring intelligence and in using IQ tests.

Research on bilingualism and IQ, where compares bilinguals with monolinguals, has been driven by different motives. It has developed through three broad overlapping periods, when the negative consequences and zero correlations between verbal and non-verbal IQ and bilingualism from the 1960s gradually evolved into a view of the positive relationship of IQ to bilingualism. We can thus conclude that, research since Peal and Lambert (1962) has rephrased its questions with regard to *"on what products and processes are bilinguals superior to monolinguals"* (Baker 1988:22). This will be discussed in the next section.

3.3 Bilingualism and Cognition

3.3.1 Piaget, Vygotsky and Bilingualism

Few scholars have addressed the mechanisms of the mind that produce the observed results, a mental topography of the bilingual individual, *a map to reveal the inner working of a bilingual mind* (Hakuta 1986:73). They include Whorf (1897-1941), Bloom (1981), Piaget (1955), and Vygotsky (1962). They have approached the relationship between mind and language from two extremes, but for our study, a comparison is made between Piaget's and Vygotsky's approach to the problem of external reality which we think helps understand the bilingual mind.

For Piaget, the problem of external reality is centred around the physical world, which is more or less universal across cultures. For example, when a fluid is poured from one container into another regardless of the change in physical appearance the quantity remains constant. So, for Piaget, it is through the interaction with the world that a child constructs a knowledge structure about this sort of physical reality. For Vygotsky, the external reality is first and foremost cultural. Culture, he says, is the agent that brings together different internal human capacities that would otherwise remain unrelated. Cultures vary tremendously in the ways they employ different capacities. So, the Vygotskian perceptive provides a context in which to study cultural influences on thought, one such influence being bilingualism.

Vygotskian theory, which proposed a context in which to study cultural influences on thought, can be compared with our previous arguments in chapter 2. In section 2.4, we argued that socio-cultural systems influence all aspects of life including the concept formation process. Individuals' conceptions of language and bilingualism as no exception were indicated

to be context-bound, and formed under the influence of the individual's culture.

3.3.2 Bilingualism and cognition research: Positive views of bilingualism

First, distinctions must be made between the two terms *convergent thinking* and *divergent thinking*. "Convergent thinking" relates to an IQ test which requires one correct answer to each question. So, the respondent has to converge onto a single, acceptable answer. "Divergent thinking" is, in process and product, a more creative, imaginative, open-ended and free-thinking skill. Instead of finding one correct answer, the pupil is given a set time to produce a variety of answers, most of which are likely to be valid answers (Baker, 1988:23).

In the case of a bilingual child whose first learned language has been developed in a socio-cultural system different from the one in a host country, the concept of *valid answer* must be utilised cautiously in terms of different perceptions of realities. This can be demonstrated by an example. The term *dog* can be associated with different experiences in different cultures, but at the same time one can find a midway approach to some common associations. To a western child, a dog is good company. To a Muslim child, a dog is an untouchable animal. In Korea, a dog is good to eat. All answers in relation to questions which should picture dog as "something" are valid in their geographical and cultural contexts. So, it is crucial for a researcher to be aware of such differences when he wants to measure divergent thinking abilities. Thus, we propose another term *convergent thinking, meaning that a bilingual child to be able to answer questions valid in two cultures or initiated from two cultures.* This also measures his/her learning of the second culture and language as well.

A majority of research overwhelmingly claims that bilingualism has positive effects and suggests that bilinguals are superior to monolinguals on divergent thinking tests.

Ever since Peal and Lambert's study (1962), other researchers in bilingualism and intelligence have been retesting their results in different parts of Canada as well as other parts of the world. Methodologically, precautions were taken to select lingually balanced subjects. A criterion which had not been taken into account by early research in this tradition and so their findings were considered invalid (Baker, 1988; Hakuta, 1986).

Liedtke and Nelson (1968) and Cummins and Gulutsan (1974) replicated Peal and Lambart's results with children in Western Ontario. Studies in other countries include: In the United States (Ben-Zeev, 1977b); In Israel (Ben-Zeev 19977a); in South Africa (Ianco-Worrall, 1972; and Diaz, 1983).

The conclusions of recent research in the field such as Hakuta (1986) provide overwhelmingly support for the positive effects of bilingualism over monolingualism and suggest that:

> ... take any group of bilinguals who are approximately equivalent in their L_1 and L_2 abilities and match them with a monolingual group for age, socio-economic level and whatever other variables you think might confound your results. Now, choose a measure of cognitive flexibility and administer it to both groups. The bilinguals will do better. (ibid., p 35)

But, with regard to methodological limitations implicitly faced by the researchers, generalizations should always be made cautiously. The issue of balanced bilinguals and balanced judgement has created problems that could discredit some conclusions. Baker (1988) lists four major problems to be attended to:

> 1. Some studies fail to control adequately for difference between bilingual and monolingual groups.
>
> 2. Some studies have such small samples that attempts at generalization must be very restricted.
>
> 3. Some studies fail to define or describe the level or degree of bilingualism in their sample.
>
> 4. Not all studies find positive relationships between bilingualism and divergent thinking, though it is overwhelming a point of agreement. (ibid., p 26)

3.3.3 Summary

In our attempt to review the results of research on bilingualism and cognition, we found that (a) the research, overwhelmingly, claims the superiority of bilinguals over monolinguals in their divergent thinking. (b) In this respect, Peal and Lambert's (1962) results, replicated in different parts of the world, gave more weight to such findings as being cross-nationally valid. (c) The Vygotskian perspective provides a context in which to study cultural influence on thought, one such influence being bilingualism. This confirms our previous argument (section 2.4) that being bilingual is a product of the socio-cultural system which, in turn, influences all aspects of a child's life including his/her conception of language and bilingualism.

3.4 Attitude and Bilingualism

3.4.1 Orientation

The intention of this section is to tackle *attitude* to the extent that may be crucial to the life history of a language as well as to illustrate the importance of attitudes in any discussion of bilingualism. This is because, as

Dembo (1977) argues: One *of the most important variables influencing the effectiveness of instruction is student characteristics and abilities. The wide variety of student abilities, interests and attitudes found within any classroom precipitates to a wide variety of results: Some students will enjoy more success in school and more favourable teacher interaction than others. (ibid,. p 25)*

3.4.2 Attitude: Definition, measurement and findings

Attitudes are said to be regarded as hypothetical constructs. As such, when talking about a specific language, an attitude to it - whatever that attitude might be - cannot be directly observed. Baker (1988), and Dembo (1977) define attitude in relation to behaviour. Baker(1988) says:

> Attitudes are inferred, conceptual inventions hopefully aiding the description and explanation of behaviour. (ibid., p 114)

Moreover,

> Attitudes are learned predispositions, not inherited or genetically transferred, and are likely to be relatively stable over time. (ibid.)

Although, attitude is said to be relatively stable over time and tends to persist, experience as a reinforcement may modify it. If attitude can be changed, as Lambert (1981) and McLaughlin (1984:21) have argued, *attitude change is an important notion in bilingualism.* Baker (1988:114) in agreement with Lambert concludes that *if people's attitudes are open to change, then attitude to a minority language, to learning a second language, to participating in a second culture may be both positively or negatively affected.* As an example, the situation of the English language in Iran after the revolution (1979) can witness - as a case of some profound social changes - how quickly people's attitudes deeply or superficially change. Before 1979 the major second language taught and studied in schools was English. But after the revolution, according to the 1984 statistic, in the Province of Khorasan, more and more students tended to learn French, German and Arabic. The grade average for English as a subject before the revolution 1979 was 12.44 compared with 7.5 in 1982, that is, four years after the revolution.

Theoretically, attitude consists of three components which are practically difficult to separate and to identify. They are the *cognitive, affective* and *active* components. In connection with minority language, Baker (1988) argues that an attitude towards a specific minority language may be thought about and be capable of being transmitted by words or other symbols. In the affective domain part of attitudes, feelings and emotions may be attached to them. Finally, attitudes may lead to action or constitute readiness or background for action. A positive attitude may predispose certain behaviour.

Based on input- output attitude theory, attitude causes certain behaviours. In this way attitude is both a causal or input variable as well as an output variable. As related to schooling, attitude (behaviour) is conceived as an outcome of education and is important because it may provide more long lasting effect than achievement in examinations. Knowledge gained in a course, poems recited, grammatical rules learned may be forgotten, but as Baker (1988) argues, what is more long-lasting is the attitude to a taught or learned subject matter of any kind including L_1 and L_2.

3.4.2.1 A summary of attitude research findings

In our review of the research on attitude and bilingualism, an attempt was made to tackle the nature of attitudes and of attitude change. Special concern was paid to relating these rubrics to minority languages in bilingual settings. The attitude survey research from Scotland and Ireland appeared to indicate both the existence of a positive public attitude and scepticism. The general public's interest was shown, as regards the survival of minority language, as a symbol of ethnic history, heritage and national culture, but it was not valued as a tool for widespread communication or a medium of mass education.

In the review of attitude function and attitude change, it was argued that *attitude* changes both as a function of individual needs and motives and as a function of social situation (Katz, 1960). In this connection, the need for success, reward and cognitive consistency interacting with the effect of pleasurable contexts and environments and valued models are among variables that influence both the maintenance and/or attrition of a minority language as well as the individual's characteristics and abilities.

3.5 Bilingualism and motivation

3.5.1 Orientation

An individual's motivational tendencies are believed to shape his academic adjustment and performance (Dembo, 1977:79) and that motivational factors affect both a learner's classroom behaviour and success in learning situations. Baker (1988:142) considers the motivations *to want to become* or *to continue to be* as being rudimentary in bilingual theory. He further argues that "motivation" helps explain why a person may wish to learn a second or an additional language. As regards bilinguals, it is the motive and the need that lead a person to favour bilingualism or reject one language in favour of another. First, *motivation* needs to be defined.

3.5.2 Definition

Before defining *motivation*, the terms 'drives', 'needs' and 'motives' must be clearly identified. The distinctions are made based on the definitions given

by McKeachie & Doyle (1966), McClelland (1958) and Kagan (1972) as they appear in Baker (1988:143) and Dembo (1977): *Drives* normally refer to innate automatic physiological forces, especially in animals, such as hunger drive and sex drive. Theoretically, the distinction between motives and motivation is that 'motive' is a stored potential that may at certain times become activated or may remain dormant. *Motivation* is the activation of a certain motive. *Cognitive motivation* (Flavell, 1977:19) is defined as factors and forces that activate or intensify human cognitive processing; the term 'need' is an umbrella word to indicate both drive and motive in the way that Maslow (1954) talks of physiological needs (drives) and cognition-based needs (motives).

Two more concepts need to be defined: *integrative* and *instrumental* motivation. Integrative motivation is best defined if it is defined in relation to the suffix *philia* or *phili* meaning: the love for or the great interest or pleasure in. Falk (1978:363) defines instrumental motivation as: *where the purpose of a foreign language study is more utilitarian such as meeting graduation requirement or preparing to apply for more highly paid job; whereas integrative motivation is when a foreign language is studied because the learner admires the culture, likes the people and wish to become familiar with or a part of the society in which the language is used.* With regards to language performance, integrative motivation as a factor, has demonstrated most success, while students with instrumental motivation have rarely proved to achieve complete success. More details will be given in the next section.

3.5.3 Research findings

In the process of educating, individuals in general and in language learning or the attainment of one's status as a bilingual in particular, a large body of research indicates that success depends on more than teaching methods and different pre-fabricated techniques and strategies. *One important factor is motivation* (Falk, 1978:362), and, as the overview of bilingualism and motivation indicates, two concepts - *integrative and instrumental motivation* (Gardner and Lambert, 1972) - have been the subjects of many studies in this tradition. However, through the examination of the existing conceptual frameworks of language learning and bilingualism, one can clearly see that the motives surrounding the appreciation of being a bilingual or otherwise is more and wider than motivation alone.

Most of the literature on language and motivation is related to the context of bilingual education where a second or a further language has been the object of the learners' study. The findings, however, cannot always be generalized but can at least be beneficial to bilingualism when we focus on what motives surround becoming and staying bilingual or allow bilingualism to decay. At the same time, it is advisable to be cautious in the identification of the level of needs of the individuals in either context. Based on Maslow's (1954) theory of motivation, which appears to make an important

contribution to bilingualism in this respect, the level of needs at which an individual or group is located can easily be specified. For example, majority children may be motivated to learn a second language for enjoyment when they have fulfilled their prior needs, but the prior need for an immigrant child, for survival, security and self-actualization, is to tend to his mother tongue first and then to a second language for his survival and social needs in a host country.

The findings of research, which examines the role of integrative and instrumental motivation in language learning and the achievement of bilingualism, have been controversial ever since the early study by Gardner and Lambert in 1959. The controversies are thoroughly surveyed in three varieties of studies and research. Gardner (1985a) and Oller et al, (1977) have argued that the degree of relationship between the integrative motive and achievement in second-language learning is small. They have identified integrative motive as being one ingredient of many complex variables for second language success. Perkins and Alurakami (1980:239) found among students learning English as a second language in Southern Illinois that *the degree of integrativeness of subject is inconsistently related to scores on the language proficiency tests.* Oller et al, (1977) found that a Chinese student's positive beliefs about his or her own cultural group rather than a target second language group were the best predictors of second-language proficiency. Genesee, Rogers and Holobow (1983) contrasted Oller et al's, (1977) argument by finding that a student's expectation of motivational support from the target second-language group was a powerful predictor of second-language proficiency. Genesee et al, (1983) argued that motives do not exist within the individual in a vacuum and as Schumann (1986) believes inter group factors provide one context where motives may be inhibited or promoted.

Genesee et al, (1977) and Schumann (1986) confirm our argument about the influence of a socio-cultural system on one's concept of language as well as all aspects of life (section 3.3.1). In this case, it can be argued that the context provided by the inter group factors is a context mixed with group values.

Baker (1988) views pessimistically at the majority of the large numbers of research on bilingualism and motivation as having educational applications, thus, he argues :

> Much of the research gathers together knowledge of psychological importance, without attempting to make direct observations about real educational practice. Indeed, much of the research, although using pupils and students, does not require the investigation to enter a school or a classroom. The research is essentially "black-box". The classroom realities are hidden from view. The research is very much of the input-output variety. The real life of the classroom, the process of motivation revealing itself in actual behaviour, is absent from most research on bilingualism and motivation. (ibid., pp 158-159)

In Contrast to the type of research identified by Baker (1988) as *black-box*. Gliksman (1976) and Naiman et al, (1978) perform their investigation, where the classroom is opened up for viewing, in a *glass-box* tradition. The results of these studies showed the fact that integrative and instrumental motivation are not just statistic. Variables are measured in an abstract context, but in the classroom, motives enter into the process of everyday life, a process that is dynamic and interactive. Instrumental and interactive motives may affect the crucial behaviour that aids or detracts from being bilingual.

In a variety of studies in Wales and Ireland, parents' motives (Bush, Alkinson and Read, 1984), teacher commitment and motivation in bilingual schools (Roberts, 1985) to the indigenous or minority language student's language and culture, and the pupils' motivation were ranked high as other factors influencing the success of bilingual education. In particular, Roberts (1985) argued that *the integrative conditions provided by the teachers were reflected in the greater commitment of their bilingual schooling, the relationships being mutually reciprocating in an upward spiral fashion. (ibid., p 291)*

3.5.4 Summary and conclusions

The main intention of this section was to review the literature on motivation and bilingualism. The underlying reasons being the fact that (1) an individual's motivational tendencies are believed to shape his academic adjustment and his subsequent performance; (2) as related to bilingualism, motivation as a crucial factor helps explain why a person may wish to become bilingual, retain or reject one language in favour of another. The concepts of integrative motivation and instrumental motivation have raised many questions for bilingualism and motivation research to answer. But the findings were found to be controversial. On the whole, some points were found for general agreement: (1) different contexts foster or inhibit the activation of both integrative and instrumental motivation (2) the parents, teachers and social commitments and motivation in bilingual schooling are crucial factors in the success of bilingual education, the relationships being mutually reciprocating in an upward spiral fashion.

3.6 Final summary and conclusions

In this chapter, four clusters of literature on bilingualism which might contribute to the study, were reviewed. The literature reviewed advocated *bilingualism* where it was tackled from the view-points of intelligence, cognition, attitude and motivation. The underlying intention was to see: (1) how these psychological dimensions of the study of bilingualism could or might contribute to conceptualizing a framework for the study; and (2) if bilinguals are in some products and processes, superior to monolinguals.

As related to question one, it was found that intelligence, cognition, attitude and motivation each as a crucial factor contributed to our understanding of the relationships existing between these factors and bilingualism enabling us to answer *why and under what circumstances* a person may wish to stay bilingual, retain or reject one language in favour of another. But these were found to be only a few of the many factors. A combination of background variables, and context variables-inner context variables and outer context variables-was found to be interlocked and interrelated.

In connection with question two, the contradictions in findings were even greater. Despite the early studies which suggest the superiority of monolinguals over bilinguals (before the 1960s), the bilingual research in different traditions, ever since, overwhelmingly claims the superiority of bilinguals over monologues in that they show (a) greater mental flexibility; (b) the ability to think more abstractly, less concretely and more independently of words, resulting in superiority in concept formation: Divergent thinking. (c) A more enriched bicultural environment which benefits IQ and (d) positive transfer between languages benefiting verbal IQ. (Peal and Lambert, 1962).

It was argued on many occasions that the phrasing of the problem questions in any evaluation of language in general and on bilingualism in particular, greatly influenced both the survey process and the achieved results. They had a mutual relationship with their context in conveying positive, negative or zero results when the evaluation question was to answer whether *bilinguals are superior to monolinguals on some products and process.*

Last but not least, it was felt that where bilingualism is served well, it is where the bilinguals' needs are properly identified at macro level in order to be tackled and fulfilled at micro level. Where bilingualism has not been served well, it has been due to our lack of understanding of the bilinguals needs, because the factors affecting the process and performance in bilingual settings have both fostering or inhibiting characteristics. The crucial question is under what conditions bilingualism is facilitated. The *question is raised if the right behaviour by students is sufficient to make an instructional programme a success or it is one of the variety of variables. What influence the macro-level incentives have on the micro-levels affecting both the competency and the performance of the bilingual bicultural child.* This task is left to chapter four.

Chapter 4

OUTLINE OF THEORIES, THEORETICAL MODELS AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

4.1 Introduction: A reflection on the previous chapters

It was previously claimed that this study had as its intention to approach and solve its questions in a multidisciplinary fashion. This intention was followed as closely as possible in chapters two and three .

Chapter four intends to consider the various overlapping theories which have been implicitly stated from the areas studied in chapters two and three in addition to organization theories, theories of culture, learning theories and the structure of education.

> In practice, theory often enters when there is a need to explain findings and this includes the need to accommodate apparently contradictory results. (Baker 1988: p 170)

The rest of this chapter is devoted to the consideration of different theories and models to the extent that this both is required and indicates the future path of research, leading to either the retesting of one of the models or to our conceptualizing a specific model for this study.

4.2 Theories of language and thought: Theories of mind

Hakuta (1986) gives three questions under the mental topography of the bilingual individual in order to sketch a map to reveal the inner workings of the bilingual mind:

> 1. How should we reconceptualize the relation between language and mind?
>
> 2. How are the two languages of the bilingual related?
>
> 3. Do different kinds of bilingual experiences produce different kinds of bilinguals? (ibid., p 73)

We have already answered these questions in different sections of the previous two chapters in order to understand their relationships as well as the outcomes. But, in this section, some theories will be scrutinised for a wider view of the conclusion we might draw from the controversial theories of mind as they relate to language and bilingualism.

Some of these theories, such as those of Whorf (1897-1941) and Vygotsky (1962) lead us to expect bilingualism to have a deep influence on thought; others such as theories of Chomsky (1957) and Piaget (1980) point toward minimal influences of bilingualism in this respect. Whorf suggested the notion that different languages divide reality in different ways. An example is the many words the Eskimos have for the concept of *snow* . In some cases, one language uses one word for a similar meaning which is conveyed in a noun phrase in another language.

For Vygotsky, the society and technology have crucial roles in shaping the nature of the human mind. He considers language to be an important apparatus by which society transmits its knowledge and values to the child. It is through the analysis of the interaction of language and thought that the mechanisms by which society magnifies the individual qualities are revealed.

Chomsky claims that the mind is composed of a set of unique faculties, one of them being language. In his view, the acquisition of a language consists of choosing among the alternative and pre-existing languages for feeding information into the basic machinery of thought. In his approach, bilingualism could not have much effect on thought.

Piaget also sees no special significance for bilingualism in influencing cognitive development. Piagetian psychology is based on the belief that the general form of knowledge is the source of all domains of cognition, including language. Since this knowledge is in turn the product of a development process that begins in the sensory motor actions of the infant, bilingualism cannot not alter the form of its knowledge.

These four theories of mind are believed to be the heart of the theories of language and thought, (Hakuta 1986). To him, these four theories have both great significance for bilingualism and lay out the four dimensions or tensions with respect to their significance for bilingualism.

1. Dimension one concerns the extent to which individual functions of the mind have independent structures. The question here is "Does the structure found in language repeat itself in other components of thought, or does each component have its own unique set of characteristics?" The answer found is the fact that the more a theory tends to emphasize the uniqueness of the functions, the less it can be considered that bilingualism influences thought.
2. Dimension two covers the nature of human development. The question in this connection seems to be whether development had better be viewed as an active (context-independent) or passive (context-dependent) process. The implication of its answer in bilingualism is proposed to be: The more a theory favours the "passive" view, that is to say, it is dependent on context, the more the experience of bilingualism will leave its imprints on thought.

3. Dimension three involves the locus of structure. The question is then, whether it is in the internal reality of the mind, or is it in the external world? Chomsky and Whorf view this question differently. Chomsky's answer is that its location is entirely in the mind, but Whorf strongly argues that our perception of reality - thought - cannot exist independent of the culture that transmits the linguistic structure.

   Thus, we can clearly see that Chomsky's and Whorf's theories lie on two opposing extremes. On the other hand Piaget and Vygotsky's theories of language and thought lie midway, but their different approaches propose dimension four.

4. Dimension four relates to the nature of external reality. Piaget (1955) argues that the problem of external reality is centred around the physical world and is more or less universal across cultures. For Piaget, it is interacting with the world that a child constructs a knowledge structure about the sort of physical reality. For Vygotsky (1962), the external reality is first and formost cultural, or culture is the key to the revelation of the world. Thus, the Vygotskian perspective of external reality provides a context in which to study cultural influences on thought, one such influence being bilingualism. Below, some clusters of psychological, social and educational models and theories in relation to bilingualism will be considered. First we will consider psychological clusters.

4.3 Theories of bilingual education. Models and frameworks

4.3.1 The balance theory

The balance theory of bilingualism assumes that increasing one language will automatically cause a decrease in the second language. This theory was mostly supported by the early research on IQ and school attainment. Two underlying assumptions incorporate this theory (MacNamara 1966; Baker, 1988:170; Cummins in Alatis, 1980):

> (a) The brain has only a certain capacity or room for absorbing language skills, and the entry of a second language decreases the amount of the existing space. Examples can be seen in bilingual research tradition before 1960s, under the period of detrimental effects of bilingualism on intelligence. The observed consequence was a lower proficiency in all aspects of language and thinking. (Baker, 1988: p 170)

> (b) The first and the second language are stored separately in brain and that they do not interfere with each other. For example, language skills in L_1 are stored in one part of the brain and language skills in L_2 are kept in another part of the brain. Mostly believed, very little or no language transfer or language interference occurs in this way. (ibid.)

The evidence from the period of additive effects of bilingualism and intelligence articulated the belief that bilingualism can enhance cognitive functioning and so leads to divergent thinking. The implication for bilingualism is that: *Bilingual education which fostered both languages to a good level of proficiency had no negative effects on first language skills or on general achievement throughout the school curriculum* (Baker, 1988: p 171). Thus, this assumption discredited the plausibility of balance effect theory in the sense explained above.

Peal and Lambert's (1962) discussion of the early literature led them to identify the balance effect theory from a purely methodological perspective. They drew a distinction between *true balanced bilinguals* who are proficient in both their first language (L_1) and second languages (L_2), and *pseudo-bilinguals* who for various reasons have not attained age-appropriate abilities in their second language, Hakuta (1986).

4.3.2 The linguistic mismatch hypothesis

Cummins in Alatis (1980) defines linguistic mismatch in its implications for minority children's instruction. He says:

> The linguistic mismatch hypothesis implies that in order to reverse minority children's school failure, initial instruction should be in the child's dominant language. The focus on initial mismatch gives rise to a transitional form of bilingual education in which children are switched to an L_2 - only programme when they are assumed to have acquired sufficient L_2 proficiency to benefit from instruction through that language. (ibid., p 72)

The linguistic mismatch hypothesis is not a reliable base for the success of minority language students (Bowen, 1977; Tucker in Alatis, 1980), because this hypothesis focuses most on the *visible surface forms of the language* but not on the underlying conceptual proficiencies. The linguistic mismatch hypothesis is one of the basic psycho educational assumptions of transitional bilingual education, but the immersion findings discredited its validity as a general theoretical principle as being inadequate in conceptualizing both the construct of 'language proficiency' and its cross-lingual dimensions. The reasons are better understood in terms of the dual-iceberg model as described in section 4.3.4.

4.3.3 Cognitive/academic language proficiency

Shuy's (1976), with his iceberg metaphor of language proficiency (figure 3) argues that the "visible" language proficiencies in pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar, which are manifested in everyday interpersonal communicative situation, are above the surface, but the cognitive/academic

language proficiency required to manipulate or reflect upon these surface features outside the immediate interpersonal contexts is below the surface.

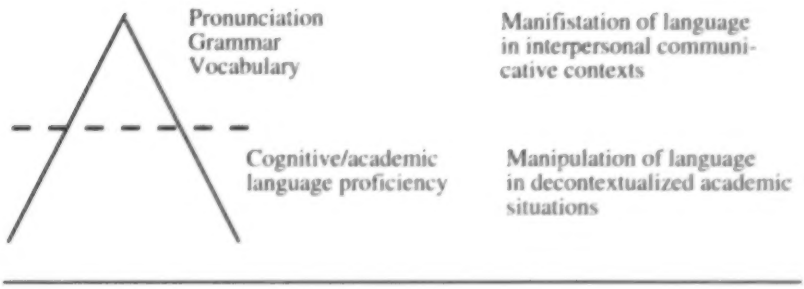


Figure 3. The "ice-berg" representation of language proficiency

Cummins in Alatis (1980) believes that this very important aspect of language proficiency has also been ignored in policy decisions regarding language of instruction.

The implication of this model for bilingual education is that in terms of *natural communication* tasks and *linguistic manipulation* tasks, different results related to the language produced can be drawn. (Burt and Dulay, 1978). These different findings are also witnessed by Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) when they report that although parents, teachers and children themselves considered Finnish immigrant children's Swedish to be quite fluent, tests in Swedish did not reflect this surface fluency in the cognitive/academic aspects of Swedish proficiency.

4.3.4 The interdependence hypothesis

According to Cummins (1970a), Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976), previous learning of literacy-related functions of language (in L_1) will predict future learning of these functions (in L_2). This interdependence hypothesis expresses the point that despite the obvious differences between L_1 and L_2 in terms of the surface features of phonology, syntax and lexicon, there is a common underlying proficiency that determines an individual's performance on cognitive/academic tasks (e.g. reading in both L_1 and L_2). Care must be taken since there might be the possibility of the existence of non-surface aspects of proficiency in each language. The dual iceberg diagram allows for this possibility. Also, there are several factors which might reduce the relationship between L_1 and L_2 measures in comparison to those between intralanguage (L_1-L_1, L_2-L_2) measures. For example, when motivation to learn L_2 (or maintain L_1) is low, cogni-

tive/academic language proficiency will not be applied to the task of learning L_2 (or maintaining L_1). The interdependence hypothesis presupposes adequate exposure to both languages and suggests a distinction between surface fluency and the ownership of more evolved language skills necessary to benefit from the educative process.

4.3.5 Attitude and motivation models

The theories so far considered can be categorized as those which are centred around individual psychological explanation. Lambert's (1974) model and Gardner's socio-educational model are two such models in which attitude and motivation tend to be the centre of focus.

Lambert's model

Lambert's (1974) model focuses on the individual's attitude and aptitude as two major and relatively separate influences on learning to be bilingual (figure 4). In the meantime, some cognitive ability is required as well as a positive attitude. In this relation, Lambert relates attitude to motivation. Thus, bilingual proficiency is based on the extent of aptitude and the relationship between, and extent of attitudes and motivation.

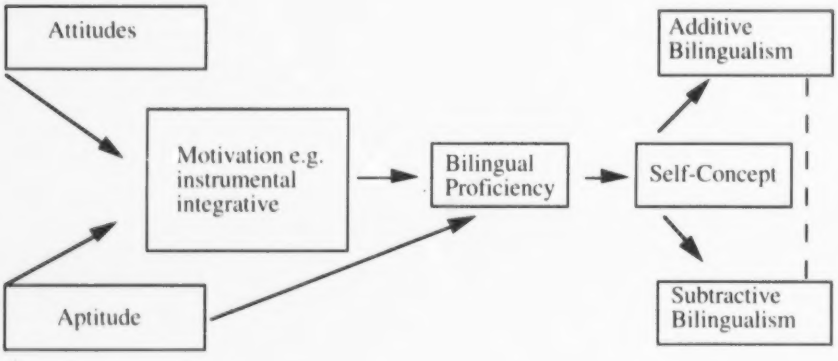


Figure 4. Lambert's attitude/aptitude model

This model, while being simple, seems to have included the central variables in acquiring bilingualism. Social milieu is both claimed to be affected by and affects the path of bilingualism. Motivation, integrative and instrumental, are conceived as social motives and as inputs in the attainment of bilingualism while subtractive and additive bilingualism are social effects or outputs in the context of the status of languages in society and the edu-

cational systems. This model shows the importance of social and cultural factors and situational context variables to the process of retaining or rejecting being bilingual at an individual and societal-political level.

Gardner's socio-educational model (Gardner, 1985a)

Gardner (1979, 1981, 1982) has produced and proposed a model of second language acquisition focusing on four major elements: (a) the social and cultural milieu in which language learning takes place; (b) individual difference variables; (c) language acquisition contexts: formal, informal and (d) outcomes. Figure 5 presents this model (as it appears in Journal of Language and Social Psychology no. 2, (1983).

The model proposes that second-language acquisition should be considered within the social milieu in which it takes place and hypothesises that the cultural beliefs within this milieu could influence the development of two sets of attitudinal variables relevant to language acquisition. These two attitude variables are firstly *integrativeness* in the sense that it refers to positive affect toward the other language community, or communities in general. The other is *the attitudes toward the learning situation* in the sense of the evaluative reactions to the learning situation. An example from the previous chapters can be given in the case of the white communities in England. The transmitted belief among them is that bilingualism is unnecessary, difficult to achieve and, if achieved, is at the expense of other areas of achievement.

It is also hypothesised that these two attitudes influence motivation and the composite of all three classes of variables is referred to as integrative motivation. Motivation in this context is conceived as comprising three components: (a) effort to achieve the goal, (b) desire to achieve the goal and (c) positive attitude toward the goal. This three-dimension-conceptualization seems necessary to reflect adequately the notion of the motivated individual.

The model further attempts to propose that two individual difference variables, motivation and language aptitude, interact with the second-language acquisition context to promote second-language proficiency. Both aptitude and motivation are expected to play a role in formal language acquisition contexts, like the school classroom, because the student with more ability and a higher level of motivation would be expected to work harder and profit more than the student with a lower levels. Motivation is expected to play a more dominant role than aptitude in informal contexts, such as watching movies in the other language, because it is assumed that motivational levels will determine whether or not students take advantage of such informal opportunities to learn the language. Once the student enters an informal language acquisition context, language aptitude would become influential, but motivational factors dominate because they determine whether or not students do, in fact, take advantage of these contexts.

Finally, the model shows that both contexts give rise to both linguistic and non-linguistic outcomes. Linguistic outcomes refer to language knowledge and language competence, whereas non-linguistic outcomes refer to interest in learning more of the language, desire to use it, etc., i.e. performance.

Although Gardner's model is proposed to be mainly applicable as a socio-educational model of second-language learning, it may find - with some modification - applications in studies that focus on the educational aspects of bilingual education of minority language students and native language instruction.

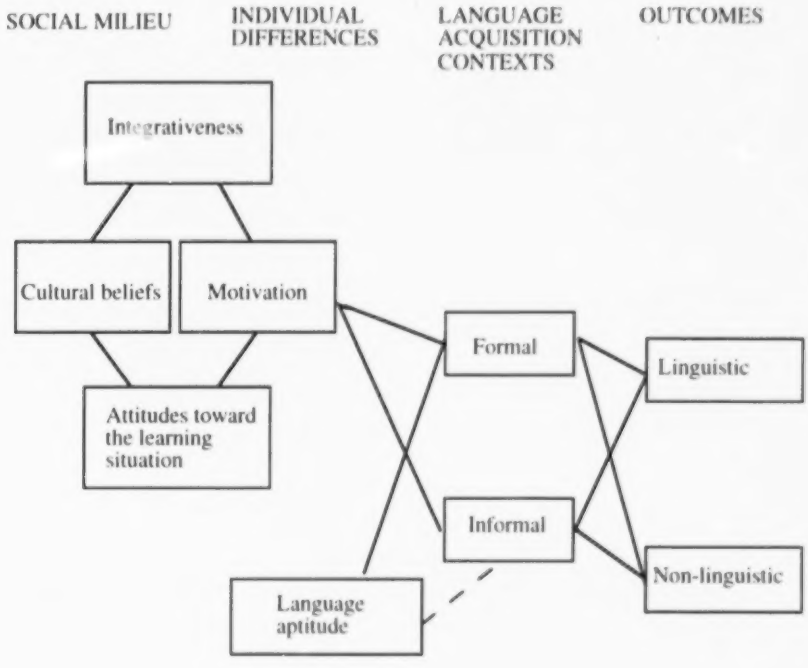


Figure 5. Gardner's socioeducational model

4.3.6 Paulston's conflict paradigm and bilingualism

Paulston (1980, 1983, 1988) considers three types of conflict theories - i.e. (1) group conflict explanations of socio-economic conflict, (2) cultural revival or revitalization explanations of value conflict and (3) the somewhat mixed bag of anarchist and anarchist-utopian explanations of institutional conflict and constraints on human development (Paulston, 1980: p 39).

Paulston (1980) from a conflict-theory-paradigm standpoint argues that it must be admitted that within the entire social situation, different language teaching methods account for very small differences in achieved

language proficiency. As a result in conflict-oriented studies the solution to the educational problems of bilingual programmes are rarely sought within the programmes themselves, but are rather seen to lie outside the programmes. It is the social factors which are seen to influence the success or failure of bilingual education programmes. The major assumption which underlies most literature within the conflict paradigm is that bilingual education programmes can be understood only in terms of the relationship between the various interest groups and that relationship is seen as basically one of a power conflict.

Approaching bilingualism in this way, the detailed analysis gave rise to two important issues. These issues are summarized in Baker (1988) as follow:

> 1. Paulston's theoretical analysis adds a sociological and political viewpoint that is an important partner to the dominant psychometric tradition in bilingual research;
>
> 2. She demonstrates well that research into bilingualism and bilingual education is not value free. The assumptions of researchers, their values and motivations, their choice of variables and style of research each affect the conclusions of research. No research is totally objective, unbiased and value free. (ibid., p 187)

4.3.7 Spolskey's bilingual evaluation model

Spolskey's bilingual education evaluation model was developed in order to cover the overall multifaceted aspects of such evaluation (Spolsky and Copper, 1977a, 1977b; Spolskey, 1978; Spolskey, Green and Read, 1974). In this model an attempt is made to map all the relevant factors in a single integrated structure and explore some of the lines of interconnection (figure 6).

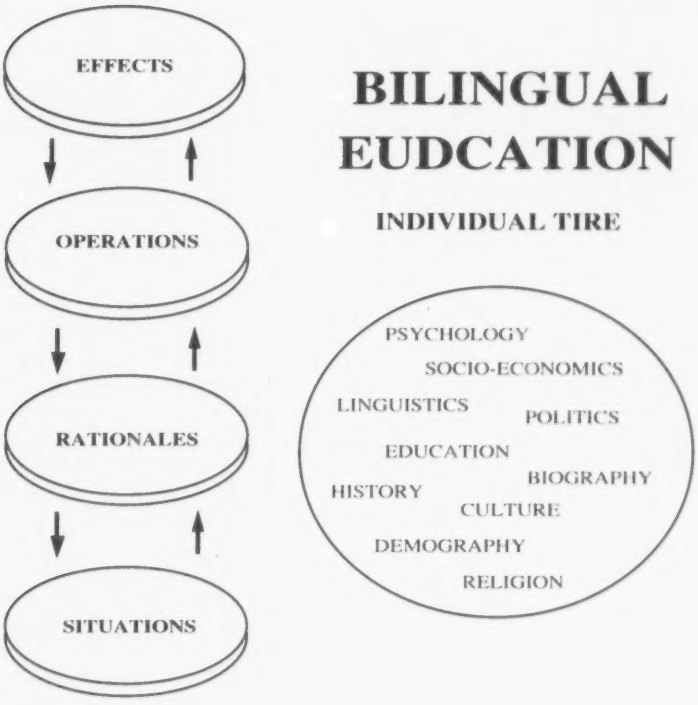


Figure 6. Spolskey's bilingual education model

This model is likened to a wedding cake with four circles of the same size. Around each, (Spolskey 1978:349-350) visualizes placing all the factors that may be affected by the operation of a bilingual programme in a particular situation. These factors which are pictured as slices cut from the cake, include psychological, sociological, economic, political, religious, cultural, geographical, demographic, historical, linguistic factors and so on that affect bilingual education. In the centre of each circle, an additional set of factors, i.e., educational factors, are located to show how educational considerations are both of central importance in such evaluation and how other factors are circumscribing and shaping it on all sides.

4.3.8 Integrated models

Bilingual educators, each in his/her specific way, have tried to approach the difficulties existing in effective bilingual programmes in different parts of the world. Consequently, we now have a lot of theories to deal with as well as many different models to follow. All have helped us to realize the complexity of the concept of bilingual education and the wide diversity of

the situations in which it occurs, the forms that it takes, the reasons given to support it, and the results that it can have. Because of this complexity, it is no wonder that the more integrated the theoretical model is the more informative and directive it is supposed to be. Accordingly, Cummins interaction model of bilingual education and the input - output - context process bilingual education models are described.

4.3.8.1 Cummins interaction model

Cummins (1979b) proposed an interaction model of bilingual education. This model takes into account educational treatment variables as well as such social and psychological factors as student motivation, teacher attitudes and expectations and community attitudes. Cummins (1981b) in connection with his theoretical framework, says:

> It should be viewed within a social context. The language proficiencies described develop as a result of various types of communicative interactions in home and school. The nature of this interaction is, in turns, determined by broader social factors. (ibid., p 11)

Figure 7 is a slightly modified Cummins' interaction model of bilingual education (1979b and 1981b) as it appears in McLaughlin (1984:199). To the original model, social class has also been added as a background variable, and attitude toward one's own identity as a child input variable. Both background and child input variables are thought to influence the educational treatment the child receives, and all three of these variables affect child process variables - linguistic competencies and motivation - which in turn influence educational outcomes. In this model, it is proposed that education treatment variables and background variables interact, in that community and parents' attitudes play an important role in determining such linguistic issues as first-language maintenance in the classroom, but the reverse is also true in that the establishment of a programme can affect community attitudes.

Attitudes towards one's own identity is also claimed by this model to play an important role in determining educational outcomes. This means that if the members of minority-language groups have a strong sense of pride in their own cultural background, Cummins believed that the prospect of success in the educational system is better. On the other hand, when there is ambivalence or hostility towards the majority cultural group and insecurity about one's own language and culture, they tend to perform poorly in school (Cummins, 1981b)

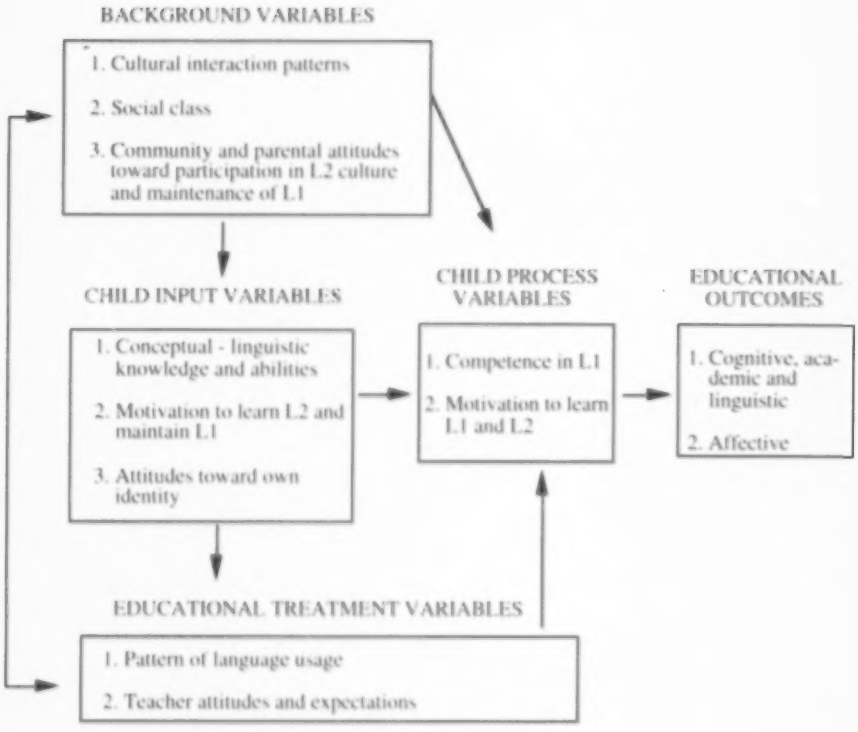

BACKGROUND VARIABLES
1. Cultural interaction patterns
2. Social class
3. Community and parental attitudes toward participation in L2 culture and maintenance of L1
CHILD INPUT VARIABLES
1. Conceptual - linguistic knowledge and abilities
2. Motivation to learn L2 and maintain L1
3. Attitudes toward own identity
CHILD PROCESS VARIABLES
1. Competence in L1
2. Motivation to learn L1 and L2
EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES
1. Cognitive, academic and linguistic
2. Affective
EDUCATIONAL TREATMENT VARIABLES
1. Pattern of language usage
2. Teacher attitudes and expectations

Figure 7. Cummins' interaction model of bilingual education

A comment needs to be made at this point. *Some bilingual educators have argued that Cummins' emphasis on linguistic factors is mistaken and that sources of academic problems of ethnographic minority children are to be-fouled in social factors originating in the structure of the society.* In this study, one of the shortcomings leading to our misunderstanding of the nature of bilingual education is the fact that many bilingual educators have omitted linguistic factors all together. No attempts (or very little in some cases) have been made to integrate linguistic aspects with performance when dealing with bilingual ethnographic minority children. A strong well-structured linguistic knowledge and abilities are proposed here as the cornerstone of active bilingualism. It is not enough, as Cummins (1979b, 1981b) and McLaughlin (1984) argue to merely look at the social contexts. The social context for bilingual education is one factor among many that go into predicting the success of a specific programme. Of similar importance, it is not sufficient to look only at linguistic and cognitive factors separated from the social context. Linguistic competence in the first and second language can be viewed as an intervening variable mediating the effects of the sociocultural context on school achievement. So, a very important but unanswered question as regards the bilingual education of

minority-language children is *how to develop this linguistic competence.* Thus, priority must be given to the identification of the proper teaching-learning processes, taking into account the existing versus required curriculum, content, control and teacher competency.

This also necessitates our understanding of the effects of the types of the structure of education on the development and maintenance of first-language skills, and the development of the cultural identity of the minority /immigrant child. The above questions can be answered more effectively when we know *how to reverse the existing hindering factors into promoting factors developing the linguistic competence which in turn facilitates the performance.* So, performance should be viewed as an upspring of competence.

4.3.8.2 The input-output-context-process model

In many cases, there are similarities between this model and those of Spolsky and Cummins. Dunkin and Biddle (1979), suggested a four-part model known as the input-output--context-process model of bilingual education as shown in fig. 8 in their attempt to summarize research on teaching.

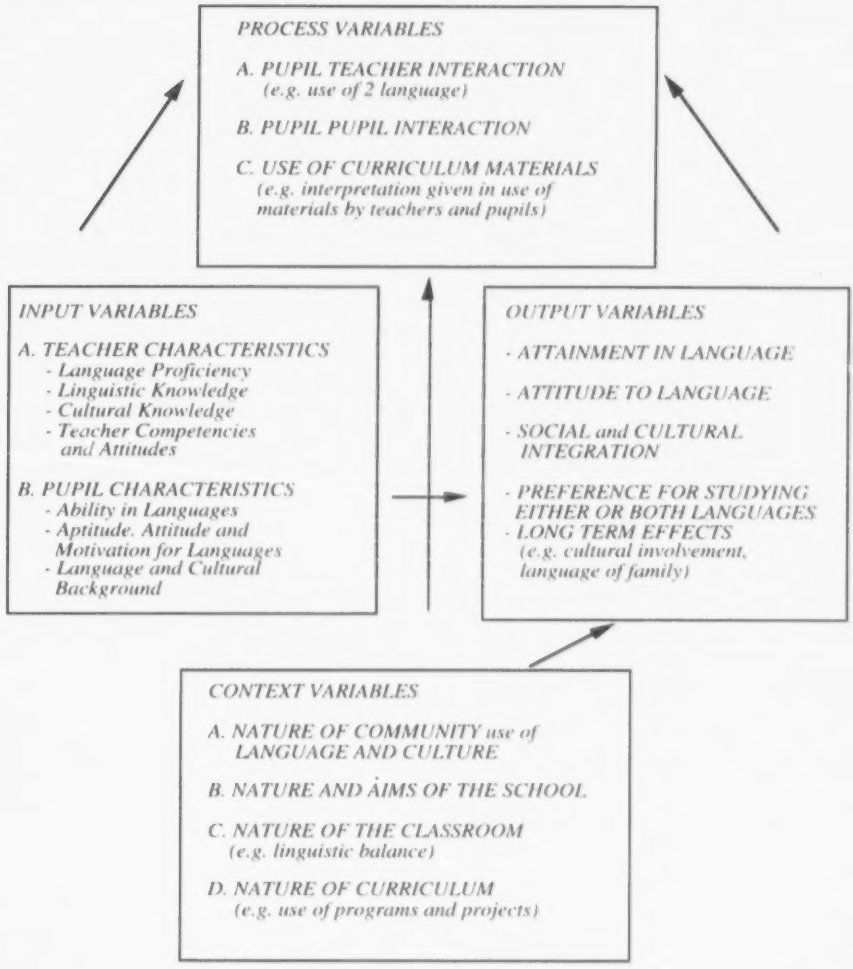

PROCESS VARIABLES
A. PUPIL TEACHER INTERACTION
(e.g. use of 2 language)
B. PUPIL PUPIL INTERACTION
C. USE OF CURRICULUM MATERIALS
(e.g. interpretation given in use of materials by teachers and pupils)
INPUT VARIABLES
A. TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS
- Language Proficiency
- Linguistic Knowledge
- Cultural Knowledge
- Teacher Competencies and Attitudes
B. PUPIL CHARACTERISTICS
- Ability in Languages
- Aptitude, Attitude and Motivation for Languages
- Language and Cultural Background
OUTPUT VARIABLES
- ATTAINMENT IN LANGUAGE
- ATTITUDE TO LANGUAGE
- SOCIAL and CULTURAL INTEGRATION
- PREFERENCE FOR STUDYING EITHER OR BOTH LANGUAGES
- LONG TERM EFFECTS
(e.g. cultural involvement, language of family)
CONTEXT VARIABLES
A. NATURE OF COMMUNITY use of LANGUAGE AND CULTURE
B. NATURE AND AIMS OF THE SCHOOL
C. NATURE OF THE CLASSROOM
(e.g. linguistic balance)
D. NATURE OF CURRICULUM
(e.g. use of programs and projects)

Figure 8. The input-output-context-process model

Baker (1985) extended this model to bilingual education, suggesting that bilingual education has inputs, outputs, contexts and process over and above that of normal schooling as detailed by Dunkin and Biddle (1979).

4.3.9 Summary and conclusions

Section 4.2 dealt with various theories of mind, and a variety of bilingual education and evaluation models. The theories and models demonstrated that as Baker (1988) says:

> Researchers on bilingualism and bilingual education speak different languages. There is multilingualism and multiculturalism in bilingual research methodologies". (ibid., p 196)

This study, as related to its own case, found that most researchers on bilingual education have been more concerned with the investigation of the factors that influence a bilingual child's performance than the development of his competency as a prerequisite of performance. Very rarely has linguistic competence in the sense of *the body of knowledge that makes linguistic performance possible* (Falk, 1978) been the object of investigation. Through the review of the theories and models, a comprehensive, though diverse, knowledge of what facilitates performance is required, but at the same time we feel that there is a need to know whether the child who is the centre of attention is given enough of the body of knowledge in L_1 that makes linguistic performance possible: *What skills he needs, what activities, methods and contents give him the needed knowledge and under what circumstances he turns out to be actively bilingual.*

The most important factors which the research on bilingualism and bilingual education have paid little attention to are:

a. The context of education as related to the types of the structure of education. The term *context* has been used to convey different implications. In this study, institutional context implies the type or the structure of education: *formal, nonformal or informal.*

b. Students' conceptions of such instructional programmes are also a crucial factor. No research has directly demonstrated its involvement in what the child in minority language programmes thinks about what adults have sketched for him, what his priorities are and how these priorities should be met. Much has been said on bilingualism "Why" but less on bilingualism "How".

The next section attempts to explain how the structure of education has been regarded as an important means of development and its possible connection to bilingual education of minority language students.

4.4 The structure of education theories

4.4.1 Definitions: formal, nonformal and informal types of education

By the middle of the 1970s, Ahmed and Coombs (1975b), gave definitions of formal, nonformal an informal education which have been generally accepted and mostly used as the point of departure in academic discussions of different types of education.

Formal education refers to the motley hierarchically-structured and chronologically-graded modern educational systems that stretch from primary school through university.

Nonformal education refers to the motley assortment of organized and semi-organized educational activities operating outside the regular structure and routines of the formal system, aimed at serving a great variety of learning needs of different subgroups in the population, both young and old.

Informal education refers to learning through daily experiences and interactions with that particular person's social and economic environment. (Ahmed and Coombs, 1975b, p xxviii).

These definitions present a view of education that is functional, equating education with learning, regardless of where or how the learning takes place. However, even if education is equated with learning, the important question is how learning situations are arranged, that is to say, the way in which education is delivered. This means that education can be looked at from a *delivery perspective* point of view. Bohola (1983) primarily differentiates between the three types of education through their institutional contexts: through formal institutions, through out-of-school contexts and through social institutions. In addition, Bohola (1983) adds a criterion that concerns the learner's awareness of the learning that takes place as a *receiving perspective*. In relation to informal education, Bohola states:

> ... and the learner is seldom aware of being a student engaged in the integration of new values and skills. (ibid. p 47)

Thus, one clearly gets the notion that in the sense of identifying the different types of education, it is also necessary to clarify the differences between the learning that a person is aware of: *intentional learning* and the learning that a person is not aware of: *incidental learning*.

Coombs and Ahmed (1974) emphasize the fact that formal and nonformal types of education are organized while informal is not. Simkins (1977:9) gives his own interpretation of the structure of education. He argues that formal and nonformal types of education are part of the learning acquired in an organized and/or semi-organized setting and informal education consists of all the learning that an individual experiments with during his lifetime. This conception of education is illustrated in figure 9.

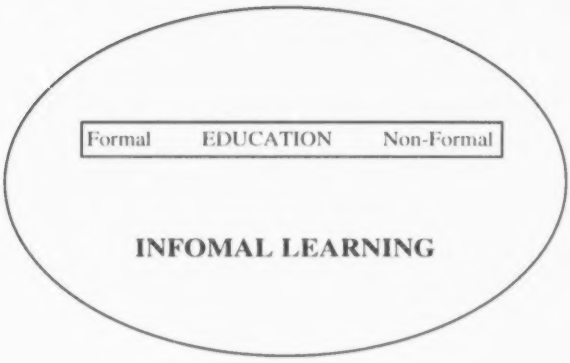


Figure. 9. Diagram illustrating the relationship between informal learning, on the one hand and formal and non-formal education on the other. Source: Simkins, 1977, p 9

4.4.2 Bilingualism and the structure of education

As far as language teaching and language learning are concerned, not much work has been done regarding the formal, nonformal and informal types of language models. The third stage of Gardner's (1979, 1983, 1985a), socio-educational model concerns the context in which language is acquired. Löfgren (1986), in his theoretical causal model of factors important for the development of immigrant children during primary and secondary school, mentions that *the outcome of schooling is dependent on many factors of which the instructional model is only one.* By instructional models, Löfgren means only the models of language instruction of immigrant children in Sweden (see Löfgren, 1986;5:37-38). In neither of the studies has structure of education been viewed as a factor affecting the process as well as the outcome of language programmes.

A distinction is made by Gardner (1979, 1983, 1985a) between formal and informal contexts of language acquisition. An example of a formal context is the classroom where a primary purpose is for pupils to learn to be linguistically competent and functionally bilingual. Drill and practice, audio-visual methods, translation and grammar exercises are examples of a formal, manifest and directed approach to language teaching. Informal contexts are where language learning is not the primary aim. For example, watching a French film may be motivated by entertainment needs and hence, extending skills in French may be an unintended outcome. Talking to a friend or relative in Irish or Welsh may occur for affiliative or social reasons. However, formal and informal contexts may on occasion overlap. For example, talking to the teacher in the classroom at the end of a lesson, or listening to a radio programme for both learning and pleasure, are examples of where the formal merges with the informal.

These overlap occasions in the case of formal and informal contexts of language learning (Gardner, 1979, 1983, 1985a) are similar to what Ahmed (1983:43), Weiler (1978), LaBelle (1976), King (1982) and Martin (1984) mention as so called borderline cases. Borderline cases are said to be the zone where different educational types overlap as shown in figure 10.

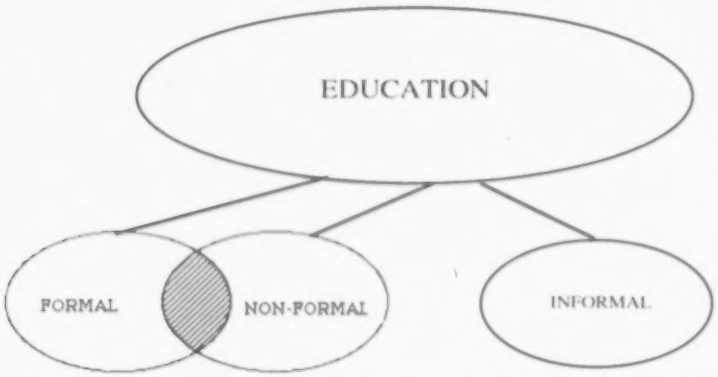


Figure 10. Diagram illustrating the relationship between the three types of education

There are other distinctions made between formal and informal contexts of language acquisition. For example, Krashen (1981) suggests that a major difference between informal and formal language situations is the extent to which one is able to monitor one's performance. In face-to-face natural communication, there is little time for monitoring as there is in formal situation where considerable reflection is possible. He further suggests that the monitor is the product of an academic process of conscious learning of grammar and that degree of mastery of grammar is related to language aptitude. Thus, in situations where monitoring is possible, aptitude makes a difference since those with high aptitude will have better monitoring. On the other hand, aptitude fails to make a difference in situations where monitoring cannot occur, such as in contexts of informal language use.

4.5 Class organization and interaction patterns

4.5.1 Orientation

This section addresses the question "*how do classroom organizational and interactional patterns affect language learning* ?". The concern here is both with formal and informal instructional practices that teachers use in organizing the classroom. That is to say, what kind of groupings are made for optimal language acquisition? What kind of interaction patterns are set

up by the teacher consciously? What interactions help children acquire the second language? What effects do teachers' attitudes and expectations have on second language learning/first language practice and school achievement?

4.5.2 Classroom organization

The teacher in a bilingual classroom faces a number of organizational issues on a wider scale than classroom teachers do. In a bilingual classroom, there are the questions of "How to use aids and how to group students with different proficiencies in the target language?" Because if instruction is to be effective, the teacher will need to pay considerable attention to such organizational issues. Some of them are as follows:

1. The extent to which aids are to be used in the classroom.
2. Small-group tutoring or individualized language instruction.
3. The question of how the students are to be grouped: the teacher must decide how to group students with different abilities, especially in a classroom made up entirely of minority-language children.

A number of grouping strategies have been suggested for bilingual classrooms. Gonzalez (1979), for example, described several possibilities: team teaching, modular scheduling, self-paced instruction and peer tutoring. Findly and Bryon (1971) suggested the case for heterogeneous groupings, as contrasted with groupings according to language abilities. They recommended *Planned Heterogeneous Grouping* where there is enough diversity to provide stimulation, but not so much diversity that the children cannot learn from each other. However, where needed, the minority-language children must be separated into language ability groupings. Care must be taken that: (a) the grouping is not dysfunctional as regards learning, (b) it is not prolonged in the areas not required and (c) an open and informal environment relative to the entire question of grouping is maintained (Gonzalez, 1979).

4.5.3 Class organization and language learning

From the point of view of the language learner, the ideal situation is one in which there are many fluent speakers of the target language with whom interaction is possible (Wong Fillmore, 1982b). A major problem for language learners is getting enough exposure to the new language and getting enough practice in speaking it with people who know the language well enough to provide appropriate feedback.

The experience with submersion programmes in the United States suggests that when minority-language children are in a classroom environment that does not meet their needs for appropriate input and feedback, the result

is frustration and failure. The tendency in such situation is for teachers to focus their attention on the majority-language children and to expect little of the minority children.

In relation to class organization and language learning of bilingual students, Wong Fillmore (1982b) gives many suggestions; some of which are the following:

> 1. Children learn well in a bilingual classroom in which whole class and a small-group learning activities are teacher-directed.
>
> 2. It appears that classroom organization - the teacher/aid-to-student ratio and the nature of the class (e.g. teacher-directed or focused on individualized instructions through small-group work) - is less important to second language learning than the quality of input and feedback minority-language children receive.
>
> 3. Successful second-language learning depends not only on the amount of the language that children are exposed to, but also on how the language is used and what feed back they receive.
>
> 4. One of the dilemmas of bilingual education is that the minority child needs contact with native speakers and, at the same time, needs the support of the first language so as not to fall behind in school subjects.
>
> 5. Minority-language students need to be separated at times from other members of the class to receive special second language instruction, to be taught reading and writing skills in their first language, to be instructed in subject matter in the first language.
>
> 6. Successful bilingual education has to be directed at both of these objectives: support from the first language and growth in the second. (McLaughlin, 1984, pp 147-148)

4.5.4 Summary

To sum up, the discussions so far - for the differentiations among and the identification of the three types of education: formal, nonformal and informal - have revealed that education in general and with regard to language instruction in particular can be viewed from two different perspectives that can be labelled *delivery* and *receiving* perspectives. *Intentional* and *incidental* learning are kinds of criteria that concern the learners' awareness of the learning that takes place. Besides, when education is regarded from delivery perspectives. the variables can be said to be of two types. One type is what might be called *internal variables* such as learning process, timing, staff, attendance, reward and so on. The other type is accordingly made up of by *external variables* such as organization, objectives, resources and control. Finally, what is of great importance is the fact that education today must involve building a *learning network* to cater for the lifelong learning needs of individuals. So, it is best that the conceived learning network combine the school system (formal education), nonformal education and

informal types of educational activities. This means, according to Ahmed (1983:43), that it is necessary to widen the zones or, in other words, borderline cases or overlap occasions between various types of education instead of letting institutional models set boundaries. In a discussion of classroom organization, class organization and language learning and classroom interaction patterns, different questions were addressed. They are both crucial and central to a bilingual class in order to be aware of:

1. How the classroom organizational, interactional and instructional patterns affect language learning in different types of structures (formal, nonformal and informal types of education) in the sense that of the kind of groupings made for optimum language acquisition;
2. What kind of interaction patterns are set up by the teacher consciously; and
3. What interactions help children acquire a second language or what effects do teachers' attitudes and expectations have on second language learning/first language practice and school environment.

4.6 Theories of culture

4.6.1 Definition

Before discussing the more formal, systematic aspects of culture, it may be desirable to examine definitions of the term *culture* as it is used today by scientists - not only by anthropologists whose main concern is the study of culture and language as it reflects culture, but also linguists, sociologists and psychologists.

Taylor (1953) defines culture as that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, customs, and any other capacities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. Kluckhohn (1949 & 1962) offered a consensus of anthropological definition of culture as all those historically created designs for living, explicit, implicit, rational, irrational, and non-rational.

Culture could operationally be defined as the collective mental programming of people's mind (Hofstede, 1980a).

Carrol (1982) describes culture as: (a) something that is shared by all or almost all members of social groups, (b) something that the older members of a group try to pass on to the younger ones, and (c) something that shapes behaviour or structures one's perception of the world. Linton (1945) and Barnouw (1979) conceived culture as learned behaviour and results of behaviour. For Vygotsky (1962), culture is the agent that brings together different internal human capacities that would otherwise exist unrelated and that cultures vary tremendously in the ways they employ different capacities. So, the Vygotskian perspective provides a context in which to study cultural influences on thought, one such influence being bilingualism.

Argyle (1982) included technology and material culture in a definition of culture describing it as:

> ... whole way of life ... language, ways of perceiving, categorizing and thinking about the world, forms of non-verbal communication and social interaction, rules and conventions about behaviour, moral values and ideas, technology and material culture, art, science, literature and history. (ibid., p 171)

Sternberg (1984) argues that intelligence is expressed in terms of adaptive, goal-directed behaviour, and the subset of such behaviour that is labelled *intelligence* is determined in large part by cultural norms. Furthermore, he argues that:

> ... intelligence and research on intelligence occurs in a cultural context and only in a cultural context and that sociocultural rather than biological reasons decide who is intelligent over the people's lifetimes. In this view, it is cultures and subcultures that give different meanings to intelligence. (ibid., p 24)

4.6.2 Culture: Different approaches and views

The term culture has been defined in a variety of phrasings. Among advocates of different disciplines, sociologists' and anthropologists' approach to the concept of "culture" seems to provide - though contrasting in some ways - a more uncomplicated definition as well as a way of operationalizing it. Sociologists most often use culture as a value system approach to the aspects of social life, stressing the process through which behaviour is learned. (Buono, et al, 1985). The anthropologists, by contrast, more often regard their entire subject matter as culture. While Hofstede (1980a) focuses on the ideational aspects of culture, Finocchiaro and Bonomo (1973) see culture as the embodiment of the human being's way of adjusting to his environment. Jones and Kimberly (1986) view culture as:

> Partial manifestations of all relations (e.g. linguistic, religion, etc.) and thus when in contact affect one another. Such relations are seldom equal. There is obvious benefit from certain types of cultural contact and exchange. Most important, cultural exchange will change the cultures of all involved. (ibid., p 15)

4.6.3 Perspectives on culture

In their different approaches, writers have made attempts to categorise theories of culture. Keesing's (1974) classification is one of the most popular. He produces three categories of the theoretical perspectives of cultures as: (a) ecological perspective (culture as an adaptive system), (b) ideational system perspective and (c) sociocultural system. (Hofstede, 1980 a).

In ecological perspectives on culture, culture is referred to as adaptive systems. Here, culture is a system that serves to interrelate a human com-

munity to its ecological settings; including technologies and modes of organisation, settlement patterns, modes of social grouping and political organisation, religious beliefs, practices and so on. According to Hofstede (1980 a), cultural change is primarily a process of adaptation and what amounts to natural selection. Culture, viewed as an adaptive system, changes to maintain the equilibrium with the ecosystem. *The cultural system undergoes change, when balances are upset by environmental, demographic, technological or other systemic changes.*

In a value system approach, cultures are viewed as systems of ideas (Finocchiaro and Bonomo, 1973). Socio-cultural systems refer to the life patterns of communities and include both the ecological and value systems of culture. (ibid., p 59)

4.6.4 Language, bilingualism and culture

Culture, like language - one of the components of culture - is a structured system of actions or patterned behaviour. But just as in language, we distinguish between the code - each individual's personal use of the code-so, in culture it is important that the bilingual students are helped to make distinctions between the cultural norms, beliefs or habits of the majority within the community and the individual or group deviations from some of these norms.

Culture embodies the human being's way of adjusting to his environment. Since many features of nature are *similar* in many parts of the world and since we are members of the human race, it is not surprising to find that all human beings in the world share seventy five traits in common (Carrol, 1965). *To dwell only on cultural differences in the classroom is to negate or weaken one of the major values of language study, which is to make pupils aware of the universality of human experience* (Finocchiaro and Bonomo, 1973:59).

4.6.5 Summary

In this section, culture as a complex and influential concept, was defined from a variety of perspectives. It was argued that culture like language is a structured system of actions or patterned behaviour. Thus, it was concluded that the important point for a bilingual student is to be helped to make distinctions between the cultural norms, beliefs or habits of the majority within the community and the individual or group deviations from some of these norms. In this connection, the goals of language study were specified. It was explained that one of the major values of language study is to make pupils aware of the universality of human experiences and that to dwell only on cultural differences in the classroom is to negate or weaken this value. The linguistic and cultural content gives both the language teacher and the bilingual student opportunities to get involved in more productive

class activities leading to the satisfaction of the bilingual's lifelong needs of his culture and native language.

4.7 Learning theories and applications

4.7.1 Orientation

This section will investigate theories of learning and their instructional applications in educational settings. Superficially, no implications may be found between these and the instruction in bilingual programmes. Finding their logical instructional applications as regards bilingualism - especially when minority language programmes are the targets - is a priority. It is then that we will be in a position to develop our own beliefs or make our own choice about the educational process of minority language children. A brief review of three clusters of theories: behaviouristic, cognitive-developmental and humanistic psychology for education will be given first.

4.7.2 Learning theories

1. Behaviourists view environmental factors in term of *stimuli* and resultant behaviour in terms of *responses*. They attempt to demonstrate that behaviour is controlled by environmental contingencies of external reward or reinforcement, which are links between behavioural responses and their effects (or stimuli). Examples are Thorndike (1927) whose theory known as *connectionism* dominated educational practice until the first decades of this century, Watson (1878-1958), Skinner (1953) who like Thorndike viewed reward or reinforcement as the most important element in the learning process and Becker et al. (1971) who believed that *when using punishment one must make sure that it is immediate, carried out in a calm manner, paired with reinforcement of incompatible behaviour and consistent.* Any behaviour can so be analysed in terms of reinforcement history (Dembo 1977 p 202).
2. Cognitive psychologists emphasize the internal processes by which an individual deals with the complexity of his environment. They also try to define the resulting cognitive structures that he constructs in his mind: the *ways in which he perceives and conceptualizes his physical and social world.* An important assumption of cognitive theory is that an individual's behaviour is always based on cognition, the act of knowing about the situation in which behaviour occurs. (Dembo, 1977:270; Flavell, 1977:24; Biggs and Collis, 1982).

   Bruner (1961) and Suchman (1960) identify the advantages of discovery or inquiry methods of learning. Ausubel (1960) suggests that if

knowledge is organized and presented properly, students can learn more effectively through text books and lecture methods.

3. Humanistic psychologists believe that *how a person feels* is as important as how he behaves or thinks. They described behaviour according to the behaver rather than the observer and are especially concerned with *self-actualization,* the growth of persons in whatever area they choose. *The humanistic teacher must create an educational environment that fosters self-development and understanding leading to self-actualization.*

The movement (during the late 1940s) that grew out of this latter perspective became known as humanistic, existential, perceptual, or phenomenological psychology and attempted to understand behaviour from the point of view of the behaver rather than the observer. Thus, it can clearly be seen that humanistic psychologists have more in common with the cognitive-field psychologists (Lewin et al, 1939; Piaget 1952 and 1964; Bruner, 1961) than with the behaviouristic psychologists.

Some of the individuals who have contributed significantly to humanistic psychology are Maslow, Rogers, Fromm and Combs. Although these theorists differ among themselves on particular points, they are in agreement on basic principles and assumptions about human behaviour. Combs et al, (1974) explain how humanistic psychologists view behaviour:

> To understand human behaviour ... it is necessary to understand the behaver's perceptual world, how things seem from his point of view. This calls for a different understanding of what the "facts" are that we need in order to deal with human behaviour; it is not the external facts that are important in understandir.g behaviour, but the meaning of the facts to the behaver. *To change another person's behaviour it is necessary somehow to modify his beliefs or perception, when he sees things differently, he will behave differently.* (ibid., p 15)

The above statement is one of the doctrines of the humanists: concern for the individual's feelings, perceptions, beliefs and purposes - the inner behaviours that make people different from one another. To understand another person, it is necessary to see the world as the behaver does, to determine how he thinks and feels about himself and his world.

This statement supports the studies' argument of why minority students' behaviour towards and his conception of instructional programmes are crucial factors in the success or the failure of such programmes. Dembo (1977:109) discusses how *self-concept* is related to behaviour and emphasizes that individuals behave in ways that are consistent with their self-concept. Self-concept influences perception, since we tend to see things that are consistent with the ways in which we view ourselves. This point of view conflicts directly with behaviourism, which tends to deal with the effects of behaviour rather than its causes.

Humanistic and behavioural psychologists are worlds apart in their view of behaviour. The ideological gap is often referred to as the freedom - de-

terminism issue in psychology and has been debated quite extensively by Rogers and Skinner (1956). The behaviourist holds people as reactive beings who respond to stimuli in their environment. Past experiences and conditioning shape their behaviour. To the humanist, on the other hand, people are determiners of their behaviour. They are not subject to their environment but are free to make choices about the quality of their lives.

Historically, the purpose of education has been to transmit the cultural heritage - knowledge, skills, values, beliefs - from one generation to another. Humanistic educators see broader goals for education than merely passing along knowledge in this manner. *Helping students learn more about themselves, helping them relate to others, preparing them for future society, encouraging them to think for themselves and to make their own decision - these are the goals of education* (Dembo, 1977; Kolesnik, 1975). These goals of education in their broader sense, as phrased by humanistic educators, can well be applied to bilingual bicultural education. This task is left to the following section.

4.7.3 Implications for bilingual education

The central focus of instructional methods/learning theories covered in the previous section were bird's-eye orientation - behaviourism, cognitivism and humanism - to better clarify the pure assumptions of each theory that underlie common educational procedures. One may lean toward a particular theory of learning, but many do not limit their flexibility by adhering completely to any one position. Teachers providing their students with large numbers of activities at various learning centres may take advantage of a combination of different methods. The point is that several teaching methods based on different learning theories can be used simultaneously for different objectives.

A comparison of the implications of behavioristic, cognitive-development and humanistic psychology for education is given in Dembo (1977: 329-331)). This comparison at different levels of application especially at levels of *motivation, goals, curricular objectives, meaningful learning and active participation* proposes that humanistic learning theories can find more implications for a multicultural curriculum. The reason is because, apart from the purpose of education in general which has been identified as transmitting the cultural heritage from one generation to another (Kolesnik, 1975), the minority ethnic group child needs help (a) to learn more about himself; (b) to relate himself to others; (c) to get prepared for the future society in which he lives combined with a view of the sociocultural system he comes from with its specific value and belief systems; (d) to be encouraged to think comvergently and make his own decisions, respectively.

4.7.4 Summary and conclusion

In this section, a brief review of three clusters of learning theories, behaviouristic, cognitive-developmental, and humanistic psychology for education, were presented. It was argued that humanistic and behavioural psychologists are far apart in their views of behaviour. The ideological gap was referred to as the freedom-determinism issue in psychology. Humanists were seen to have more in common with cognitive psychologists.

In their implications for bilingual education, it was proposed that humanistic psychology theories of learning could find real applications at levels of motivation, goals, curricular objectives, meaningful learning (learning process) and active participation (experience requires actions).

It was also inferred that humanists' description of behaviour according to the behaver rather than observer calls for our attention to the fact that the individual's feelings, perceptions, belief and purposes - the inner behaviours that make people different from one another - are crucial elements in the student's choice of education and may influence the success and/or failure of instructional programmes.

Chapter 5

THE SELECTED CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTICAL MODEL

5.1 Introduction

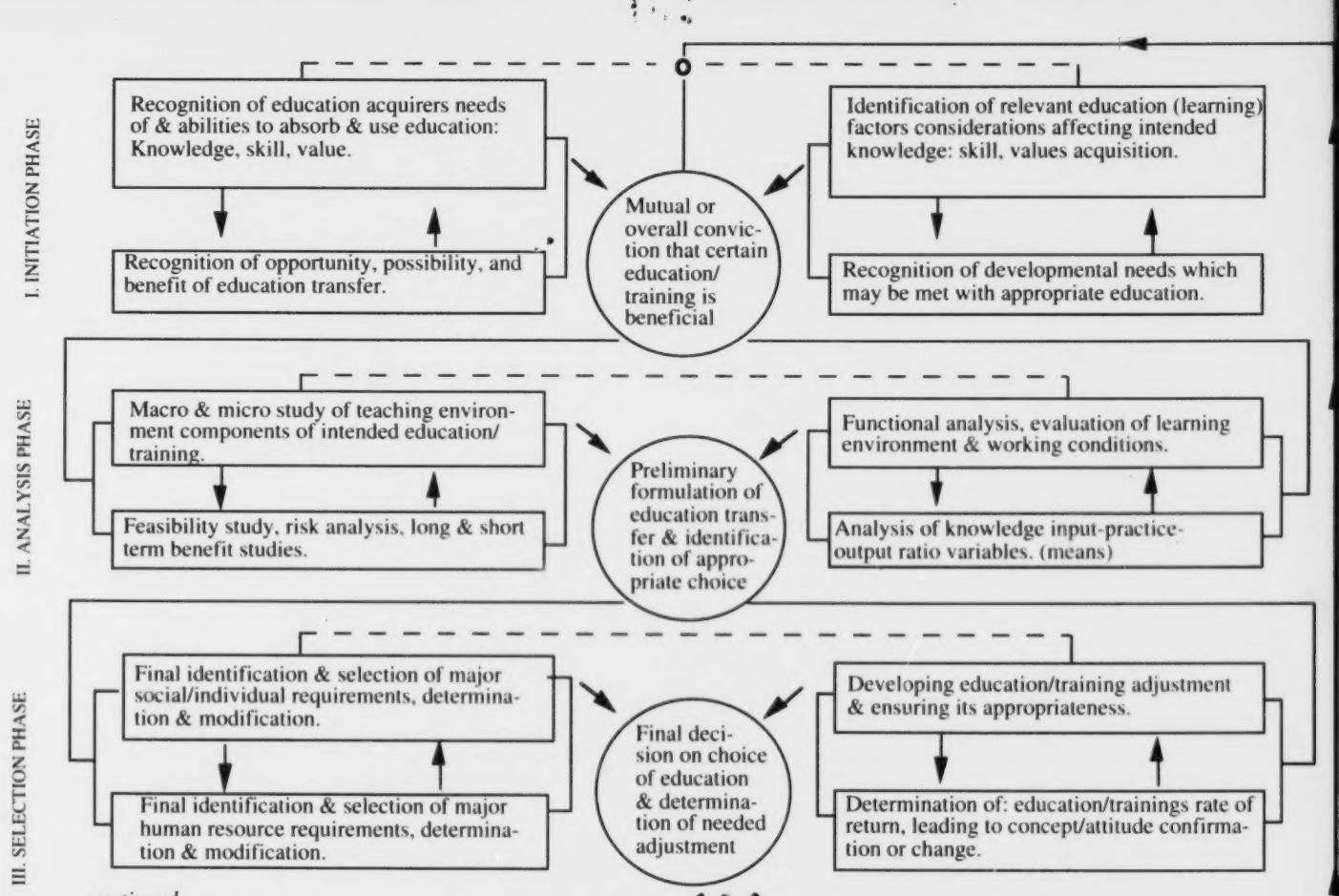
The framework selected for the understanding of the individual's conception of bilingualism - with a reference to his heritage language - in a socio-cultural context is built upon the conclusions drawn from theoretical ideas, empirical studies and the assumptions discussed in the previous three chapters. It represents a further means of analyzing bilingual education process, selection, and practice in a socio-cultural perspective and on the basis of the individual student's experience.

In the preceding chapters, social as well as psychological, pedagogical, educational and cultural views in connection with bilingual education and bilingualism were considered. It was argued that neither the individual's conception/behaviour, the institutional context nor the linguistic competence and linguistic performance have been researched from cultural reality view points and as components which are closely interdependent.

In the review of bilingual education models and conceptual frameworks, they were found to be insufficient since they neither cover the components of socio-cultural systems in detail nor include the individual student as an important party in their process of education. This argument led us to develop a conceptual model to cover the shortcomings which have so far not been included. This aim of the study cannot be met unless we have produced a comprehensive interaction model in which not only all parties are included, but definite steps are taken toward appropriate individual and total system performance.

5.2 An integrated education/training transfer and acquisition model

In order to address the above needs for a cohesive approach and also alleviate most of the aforementioned problems associated with sub-optimal education transfer versus education acquisition, a generic and integrated model, herewith is proposed. It systematically identifies five inherent phases comprising the life cycle of education transfer in general as; *Initiation, Analysis, Selection, Implementation* and *Utilization.* Moreover, this model is in accordance with the System Development Cycle concept introduced by Meister and Rabideau (1965).


I. INITIATION PHASE
Recognition of education acquirers needs of & abilities to absorb & use education: Knowledge, skill, value.
Recognition of opportunity, possibility, and benefit of education transfer.
Mutual or overall conviction that certain education/ training is beneficial
Identification of relevant education (learning) factors considerations affecting intended knowledge: skill, values acquisition.
Recognition of developmental needs which may be met with appropriate education.
II. ANALYSIS PHASE
Macro & micro study of teaching environment components of intended education/ training.
Feasibility study, risk analysis, long & short term benefit studies.
Preliminary formulation of education transfer & identification of appropriate choice
Functional analysis, evaluation of learning environment & working conditions.
Analysis of knowledge input-practice-output ratio variables. (means)
III. SELECTION PHASE
Final identification & selection of major social/individual requirements, determination & modification.
Final identification & selection of major human resource requirements, determination & modification.
Final decision on choice of education & determination of needed adjustment
Developing education/training adjustment & ensuring its appropriateness.
Determination of: education/trainings rate of return, leading to concept/attitude confirmation or change.

continued

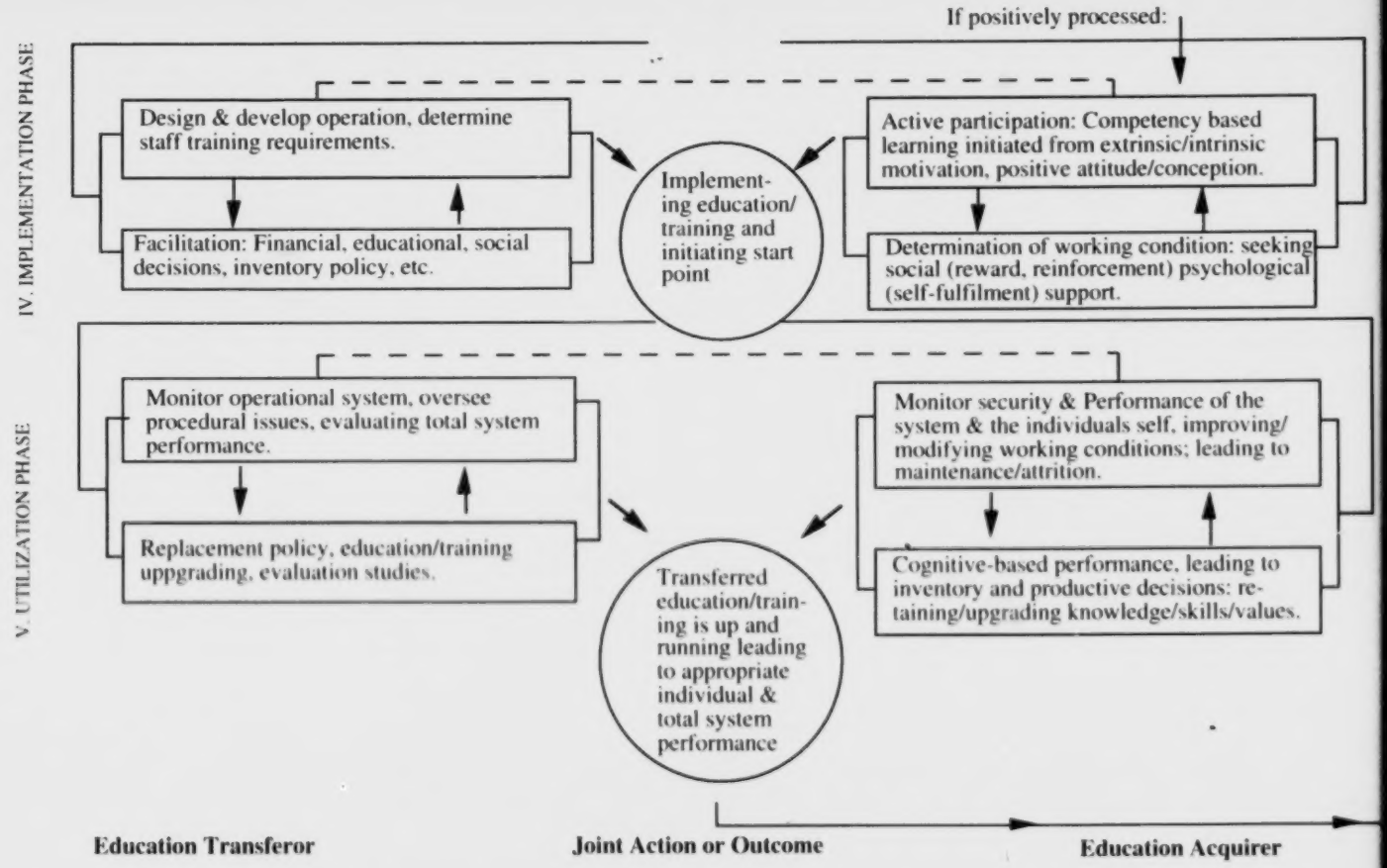

IV. IMPLEMENTATION PHASE
V. UTILIZATION PHASE
If positively processed:
Design & develop operation, determine staff training requirements.
Facilitation: Financial, educational, social decisions, inventory policy, etc.
Implement-ing education/ training and initiating start point
Active participation: Competency based learning initiated from extrinsic/intrinsic motivation, positive attitude/conception.
Determination of working condition: seeking social (reward, reinforcement) psychological (self-fulfilment) support.
Monitor operational system, oversee procedural issues, evaluating total system performance.
Replacement policy, education/training uppgrading, evaluation studies.
Transferred education/train-ing is up and running leading to appropriate individual & total system performance
Monitor security & Performance of the system & the individuals self, improving/ modifying working conditions; leading to maintenance/attrition.
Cognitive-based performance, leading to inventory and productive decisions: re-taining/upgrading knowledge/skills/values.
Education Transferor
Joint Action or Outcome
Education Acquirer

Figure 11. *An integrated education/training transfer and acquisition model*

The System Development Cycle is a time-oriented, sequential process in which factors involved in the design, execution, choice and evaluation of individual-education systems interact within the framework of a cultural setting to satisfy system requirements established at the start of the cycle. Figure 11 depicts a system analysis version of the model plus a representative list of the required activities associated with each phase.

The objective of the model is twofold: First, to demonstrate the need, feasibility, synergy, and potential for a systematic integration of education transfer (structure of education: policy makers, administrators, teachers etc.) and education acquirer (individual students) analyses which need to be performed in any education transfer transaction. Perpetual collaboration of all the officials involved in the process of educating individuals and their understanding of students' process of choice of education is a key factor in the future success of such transactions. Ideally, it should start at the design conceptualization stage and continue throughout the cycle. Second, the proposed model attempts to initiate and establish a preliminary algorithm for collaborative and certainly mutually beneficial efforts by the two involved parties in the education transfer/acquisition process; i.e., students as acquirers and educational systems as transferers. Furthermore, due to the dynamic nature of the knowledge/skill transfer process, it is proposed that since the acquirer's education/training utilization is a continuous process and the further interactions with transferer are required to secure the productivity of the whole educational system, then the model should have provisions to also monitor these activities. Thus, a feedback process to facilitate this perpetual effort is an essential and integral element in the model.

This model presents a viable alternative to verify and reify the thoroughness of initial study, subsequent selection, and final utilization of the appropriate education. Also, it enhances the potential for proactive and on-line diagnosis and further removal of possible anomalies which may be caused by unpredictable environmental, cultural, and social factors.

5.3 Translation and modification of the proposed model for bilingual education

The proposed integrated education transfer and education acquisition model (figure 11) is an interaction model which is built around the required activities associated with education transferer and education acquirer in five identified phases. The flexibility of the model is such that it can be used for a variety of educational activities such as educational evaluation, curriculum planning, planning general education as well as special education, bilingual education and the teaching of heritage language with general and specific implications but with different actors.

With respect to the ultimate goal and purpose of the study (section 1.2.2) two sub-questions "c" and "e" form the central focus of this research

work. Thus argued when dealing with the selected model for the study, it is taken for granted that due to the size (number of variables), the general model (figure 11) has either to be modified, divided into different parts or translated and simplified according to our needs for the empirical part.

In our selection of the variables, we have followed the process of translation modification. The underlying intention having been not to eliminate any of the factors of the general interaction model presented, but to have:

a. magnified those crucial objectives formulated in the purpose of the study; and

b. transformed variables schematically in a concise and comprehensible manner

Figure 12 depicts a transformed, translated, selected model relevant to this study in connection with cultural aspects and from the education (knowledge, skill, value) acquirer's experience as a priority. The study's subsequent findings should be checked against this model. The education transferer dimension of the model and its related variables are to be included under the context (ethos) factors which interact with the education acquirer dimension of the model. An in-line positive interaction of these two dimensions is proposed to lead to appropriate individual student's performance in the planned education transfer and in the intended education acquired.

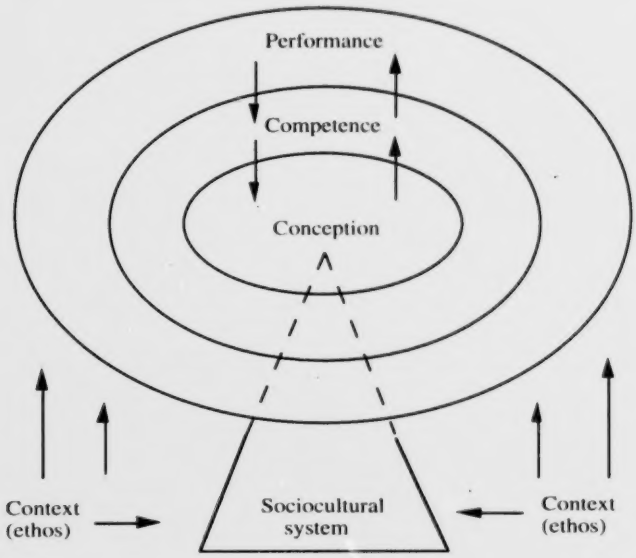


Figure 12. The selected conceptual integrated bilingual education transfer and acquisition model

The term *context* in this model is synonymous with *ethos* which means "milieu specific". It includes the answers to all the who, whom, where, what and how questions related to teaching-learning both at macro and micro levels where education is being transferred or acquired. On the other hand, the earlier literature on bilingual education and bilingualism (chapters two, three and four) emphasized that a combination of background variables and context variables, inner-context variables and outer-context variables, were found to be interlocked and interrelated. These factors were identified as having a double characteristic, that is to say, as factors which hinder or strengthen students' linguistic performance depending on the importance each factor gains in practice. These factors/variables are summarized in figure 13 under four separate headings or dimensions.

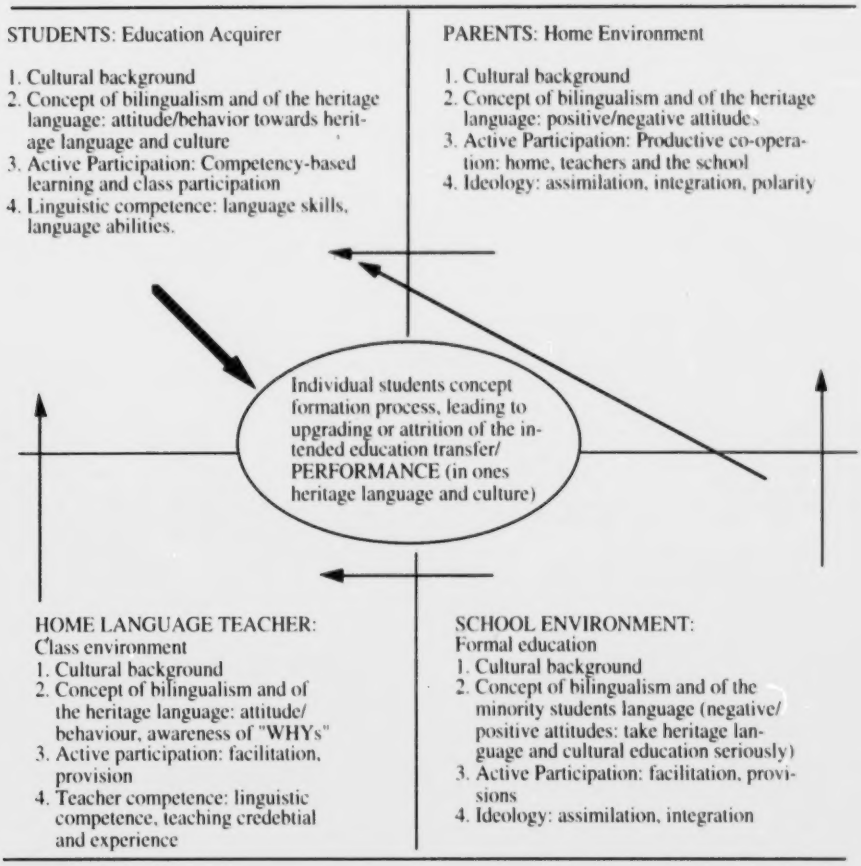

STUDENTS: Education Acquirer
1. Cultural background
2. Concept of bilingualism and of the heritage language: attitude/behavior towards heritage language and culture
3. Active Participation: Competency-based learning and class participation
4. Linguistic competence: language skills, language abilities.
PARENTS: Home Environment
1. Cultural background
2. Concept of bilingualism and of the heritage language: positive/negative attitudes
3. Active Participation: Productive co-operation: home, teachers and the school
4. Ideology: assimilation, integration, polarity
Individual students concept formation process, leading to upgrading or attrition of the intended education transfer/ PERFORMANCE (in ones heritage language and culture)
HOME LANGUAGE TEACHER: Class environment
1. Cultural background
2. Concept of bilingualism and of the heritage language: attitude/ behaviour, awareness of "WHYs"
3. Active participation: facilitation, provision
4. Teacher competence: linguistic competence, teaching credebtial and experience
SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT: Formal education
1. Cultural background
2. Concept of bilingualism and of the minority students language (negative/ positive attitudes: take heritage language and cultural education seriously)
3. Active Participation: facilitation, provisions
4. Ideology: assimilation, integration

Figure 13. Factors hindering/strengthening a bilingual's process of choice, concept formation, competence and performance

5.4 Application of models

To summarize the discussion so far, it has been argued that:

1. To understand bilingual education based on the individual's conception of the language and bilingualism in a socio-cultural context, the socio-cultural characteristics within which the education acquirer, education transferer and educational institutions operate, and the language student's conception of language and bilingualism is processed, should be analysed. Thus, it is imperative to find out how "reality" is interpreted from the point of view of his/her experience.
2. To understand the socio-cultural characteristics of nations, the contributions of valid values, traditions, customs from ancient times (local culture), those elements from other cultures (adopted culture) and religion or other belief systems must be understood.
3. As conceptualized schematically (figure 11 and 12), the proposed model of integrated education transfer and education acquisition will be used to understand the individuals' process of choice, and how they monitor security and performance of the educational system and that of the individuals' selves.
4. Finally, the impact of the components of the selected model (figure 12) on the five identified, inherent phases comprising the life cycle of education transfer and acquisition will be explored.

5.5 Summary

Chapter five has provided the rest of the study with a selected, conceptual and analytical model for the understanding of the factors affecting the individual student's conception of education in general and bilingual education in particular. The model, furthermore, indicates what specific steps should be taken towards appropriate individual as well as total system performance.

Chapter six deals with methodology where the approach and research instruments for data collection are discussed. The empirical evidence supporting our line of reasoning in section 5.4 will appear in chapters seven and eight where the data are analysed and conclusions are drawn and extracted.

Chapter 6

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

6.1 Introduction

The selected frame of reference as presented in chapter five was conceptualized for the following main underlying reasons:

a. To demonstrate the components which could explain the interdependency of the individual student's conception of instructional programmes and the programmes success and/or failure from the existing cultural reality view-point;

b. To investigate whether the structure of education could influence both the process and the outcome of minority language programmes in general and the individuals' conceptions of their heritage language and culture in particular;

c. To have logically motivated the process as regards arriving at relatively adequate answers for the many *Hows* and *Whys* which may make heritage language teaching/minority language programmes more effective;

d. To have formed the foundation for our subsequent findings to be checked against.

The developed model is intended to be tested by using three techniques, i.e.: Observation, in-depth interviews and the administration of essay type tests for the identification of the necessary information. The aim of this chapter is *(a) to provide justifications for the selected research instruments and (b) to describe procedures used for sample selection and data acquisition.* The relevant reasoning for the selection of the combination of different research strategies lies in our answer to the question *why such a combination was employed.* Thus, to provide answers to this question, a brief discussion of the available techniques in bilingual education research in general terms and in mother language-teaching research in particular will be given. The rationale for the employed instruments will then be discussed.

The overall research design of this study is qualitative in approach, and is rooted in three interrelated and overlapping mother-tongue teaching research categories, namely: (a) *serendipitous research;* (b) *curriculum-centred research,* and (c) *hypotheses testing research.* A quantitative approach, if used at all, will be integrated with and complementary to qualitative methods. The underlying reasons are: First, the qualitative nature of the phenomena being studied such as *culture* and *concept*, and second, lack of similar empirical work in bilingual education where socio-cultural systems form the focus of the frame of reference. Since the overall research design of the study is qualitative, it will be enlightening first, to make the

distinctions between qualitative and quantitative approaches clear and second, to list and to define the different research techniques which are incorporated into each approach.

6.2 Quantitative and qualitative research methods

The debate about quantitative and qualitative methods focuses on whether there is a necessary connection between method and research paradigm that makes the different approaches incompatible. *Quantitative methods* express the assumptions of a positivist paradigm which holds that behaviour can be explained through objective facts. Design and instrumentation are pursuasive in that they show how bias and errors are eliminated. *Qualitative methods* express the assumptions of a phenomenological paradigm, that there are multiple realities that are socially defined (Firestone 1987:16). Rich description is obtained by the fact that the researcher was deeply involved in the setting and giving the reader enough detail to *make sense* of the situation. While these two are rhetorically different, the results of the two methodologies can be complementary (Lindholm 1981; Firestone 1987).

With the growing acceptance of qualitative methods in educational research (Schulman 1981), the debate has shifted to what their relationships to quantitative methods should be. At the extremes are two groups: *the purists* and *the pragmatists* (Rossman & Wilson 1985).

Since the following sections immerse themselves in paradigm, we must first present a clear discussion on the relationship between paradigms and research methods.

6.2.1 Paradigms and Methods

The purists assert that qualitative and quantitative methods are based on paradigms that make different assumptions about the social world, about how science should be conducted, and what constitutes legitimate problems, solutions, and criteria of *proof* (Kuhn 1970). Four differences are most relevant to their analysis (see Guba,1978, and Firestone,1987).

1. *Assumption about the world.* Quantitative research is based on a *positivist philosophy* (based on observable phenomena and positive facts rather than speculation) which assumes that there are social facts with an objective reality apart from the beliefs of individuals. Qualitative research is rooted in a *phenomenological paradigm* which holds that reality is socially constructed through individual or collective definitions of the situation (Taylor & Bogdan 1984).

2. *Purpose.* Quantitative research *seeks to explain the causes of changes* in social facts, primarily through objective measurement and quantitative

analysis. Qualitative research is more concerned *with understanding (verstehen) the social phenomena from the actor's perspectives* through participation in the life of those actors (Taylor & Bogdan 1984).

3. *Approach.* The quantitative researcher typically employs *experimental* and *correlational designs* to reduce error bias and other noise that keeps one from clearly perceiving social facts (Cronbach 1975). The qualitative study is the *ethnography* which helps the reader understand the definitions of the situation of those studied (Goodenough 1971).

4. *Researcher role.* The ideal quantitative researcher is detached to avoid bias. The qualitative researcher becomes deeply involved in the phenomenon of interest (Powdermaker 1966).

The pragmatists respond that many studies contradict the purists' expectations about how method-types are supposed to be linked to paradigms. For instance, quantitative researchers use opinion polling to understand the perspectives of others and often immerse themselves in the situation during the planning and pretesting phases of their studies (Reichardt & Cook 1979). If the connection between method-type and paradigms is not consistent, there remains an association. Quantitative studies are typically more positivistic than most qualitative research (Reichardt & Cook 1979).

Yet the means of data collection, the results of those efforts, and the conventions about how to treat them can combine to create specific strategies for persuasion and project particular images of the research subject. These may vary systematically between qualitative and quantitative studies.

In sum, the quantitative study must convince the reader that procedures have been followed faithfully because very little concrete description of what anyone does is provided. The qualitative study provides the reader with a depiction in enough detail to show that the author's or researcher's conclusion *makes sense*. For that reason, discussion of procedure is not emphasized (Firestone 1987:19).

6.3 Selection of research instruments

In section 6.2.1, four differences were identified as relevant to the analysis of the assertion that qualitative and quantitative methods are based on paradigms. Furthermore, in section 6.1, it is claimed that the developed model was intended to be tested by observation and interview techniques and the administration of essay type tests for the identification of the necessary information. Argued in this way, according to the identification of the purpose and the approach relevant to qualitative research method, ethnography (McLaughlin 1984; Mehan 1979) for which *survey research design* is an alternative in many occasions (Werdelin 1982) is intended to be applied for the first phase of the study (see section 1.2.1). The intention is:

1. To understand the phenomena from the actors' perspective through participation in the life of those actors (Taylor & Bogdan 1984),
2. To define the situation of those studied (Goodenough 1971).

In the second phase, essay tests are administered as proposed by Finocchiaro and Bonomo (1973) and Yin (1984) for two reasons:

1. To cross-check the validity and the reliability of the findings in phase one,
2. To gain data support for the recommendation of the possible functional and more effective alternative curriculum.

6.3.1 Ethnographic methods

Some critics of confirmatory research have urged alternative research methods as a means of discovering social theory that is grounded in observations of the lives of real human subjects (see Glaser & Strauss, 1967). These methods presumably enable the investigator to ask questions and discover answers that are based on the events studied rather than on the investigator's perceptions. One model for discovery research makes use of *ethnographic methods*, particularly *participant observation* and *explanatory interviewing*.

- Participant observation is a technique in which the investigator enters the social world of those studied, observes and tries to find out what it is like to be a member of that world (Yin, 1984). Detailed notes are taken concerning the events witnessed, and eventually these are organized and codified so that the investigator discovers the patterns of events that have appeared in that world.
- Explanatory interviewing, involves the use of informants who can be questioned in detail concerning events and their interpretations. Characteristically, such interviews begin in an unstructured fashion, although later the investigator may also ask structured questions *based on his or her growing understanding of events and the informants' construction of reality.*

Three advantages of ethnographic methods are frequently cited (Geoffrey 1968): (a) They do not require prior conceptualization but instead allow the discovery of truly applicable theory; (b) they enable the investigator to understand events as they are conceived by participants: and (c) they offer opportunity for investigation of controversial topics, in depth or over a long period of time.

- Case studies which may be defined as the intensive investigation of a single object of social inquiry such as a classroom (see Stake, 1978). Much ethnographic research involves case studies. The major advant-

age of the case study is that by immersing oneself in the dynamics of a single social entity one is able to uncover events or processes that one might miss with more superficial methods.

The essence of the case study, according to Yin (1984) is that:

> ... it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decision: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what results. (ibid., pp 31, 53)

Yin (1984) identifies six techniques for data collection in case study approaches. These techniques are:

> 1) Documentation, such as analysis of letters, memoranda, announcements, proposals, progress reports etc.
>
> 2) Archive Records, such as service records, organizational records, survey data, proposal records etc.
>
> 3) Interview, which is considered as the most important source of case study information.
>
> 4) Direct observation, with the investigator creating the opportunity for direct observation.
>
> 5) Participant observation, "is a special mode of observation in which the investigator is not merely a passive observer, but instead may take a variety of roles within a case".
>
> 6) Physical Artefacts, "a tool or an instrument, a work of art or some other physical evidence" which may be collected or observed as evidence for case study. (ibid., pp 85, 86, 88)

The next section tries to focus on the existing situation regarding the status of mother-tongue research categories, and the operationalization of the model as guided by each division.

6.3.2 Mother-tongue research categories

Research on mother-tongue teaching in general, seemingly falls into three interrelated - and in some instances, overlapping - categories (Laungani 1987), which are:

a. Serendipitous research
b. Curriculum-centred research
c. Hypotheses-testing research

Serendipitious research

This kind of research *aims at exploring the problems of mother-tongue teaching*. In Britain, for example, during the last two decades, several major, influential research projects have been undertaken in this area: Tsow,

1983; Young and Connelly, 1981; Bhamra, 1981; Saifullah Khan, 1976; and Townsend and Brittan, 1972.

The major parameters which this kind of research has been concerned with, are those related to:

- Demographic variables
- Areas of linguistic diversity
- Sociological factors related to social class
- Occupation
- Areas of residence of parents, etc.

Attempts have also been made to obtain measures of attitudes and values of teachers, children, and those of the members of the local community organizations to problems related to mother-tongue teaching.

Curriculum-centred research

Curriculum-centred research is concentrated around the areas of *what to teach* and the *how of teaching*.

As regards the question of *what to teach*, Baker (1984) has suggested that there are at present two opposing research philosophies - *the project model*, and *the action research and development model*. The first one suggests that curriculum research is best done by experts in the area, who then present their packages of curricula to the mother-tongue teachers.

This implies that the teachers concerned have very little, or hardly any voice in the design of the syllabi. The second model suggests that the individual teachers involved in their mother-tongue teaching and/or multicultural education should develop their own curricula based on their own knowledge and experience of the children and the inherent problems encountered.

Hidden within each of these two models are a series of conflicting research strategies and philosophical and ideological issues adopted by individual research workers. Most often, these issues are compounded even further by financial, administrative and policy considerations as constraints.

The second question, which curriculum-centred research has concentrated on, is related to the *how of teaching*. The issues researched in this category include questions such as:

- How should mother-tongue teaching be imparted?: Should learning be by rote or should learning be by methods of discovery?
- Is mother-tongue best acquired when there is active involvement of teachers, parents and the community?
- Which, if any, of the currently fashionable pedagogical principles should be implemented?

Hypotheses-testing research

Hypotheses-testing research *sets out to test a variety of hypotheses related to the problem of mother-tongue teaching,* viz, the acquisition of positive cultural identity as a result of mother-tongue teaching, the influence of mother-tongue teaching on bilingualism, cognitive development and mother-tongue teaching, assessments of personality, social integration and maturity, and measures of linguistic confidence in the child's mother-tongue (L_1) and the second language (L_2).

6.4 Operationalization of the models

6.4.1 Introduction

The generic and integrated model (figure 11) was conceptualized with the intention of covering the shortcomings which have so far not been included in other relatively similar interaction models. It was argued that neither the individual's conception/behaviour nor the institutional context, linguistic competence and linguistic performance had been researched from cultural reality view-points and as components which are closely interdependent.

On the other hand, in order to satisfy system requirements, the model depicts a system analysis version of the model plus a representative list of the required activities associated with each of the five phases. The study takes these activities for granted and as outcomes of the contents of the literature study.

Thus argued, we have implicitly - partly or fully - answered some of the questions raised by the purpose of the study. Among them, we can evidently find the answers to sub-questions (b) and (d) in different sections of chapters two, three and four, a summary of which is given in section 8.2. Sub-questions (e), we believe, cannot be a question for direct inquiry. The answer to this question must be explored, inferred and then be discussed and proposed based on our theoretical and empirical findings.

What remains, however, for our further empirical scrutiny are sub-questions (a) and (c) on pages 5, 6 (chapter 1). The answers to these questions lie in our understanding and ability to answer:

1. How and why the education acquirer makes a positive move in the selection phase or otherwise,
2. What important impact this phase has on the implementation phase (phase IV) and utilization phase (phase V) and,
3. What unexpected factors interact with these three phases after the selection phase (phase III) has been positively processed. (See figure 11)

In other words, the major problem in this study is to understand bilingual education based on the individual's conception of language and bilingual-

ism in a socio-cultural context, and to find out how *reality* is interpreted from the point of view of his/her experience not only at the discourse level but also at the practice level.

To solve the above-mentioned problem, an integration of different strategies was followed:

a. The model was translated into general terms and variables (figure 12). Each part was further expanded into smaller measurable parts/components (figure 13).
b. A pilot study (Sahaf, 1989) and literature study leading to the concepualizing of the model led us to identify the interacting variables. The results are to be used as a base in the descriptive explanatory and comparative phases for discussing concept formation processes in individuals or groups: attitude change or attitude refinement towards heritage language and native culture.

Finally, the model is to be operationalized as guided by each division of mother-tongue research categories as shown in the following section where appropriate research instruments are selected accordingly.

6.4.2 Operationalization of the integrated bilingual education transfer and education acquisition model

As presented in chapter five, the proposed integrated education transfer and education acquisition model (figure 11) was an interaction model which was built around the required activities associated with education transferer and education acquirer in five identified phases. The main objective was to demonstrate:

a. Individuals' conception of education/instructional programmes as a decisive factor both at the implementation (starting point) and utilization (performance) phases, and that
b. The individual student's conception, in this case, as a product of the synergy effects of the factors related to home-environment, class-environment, and school-environment factors (figure 13). Home-environment factors represent the socio-cultural system of the individual's home country. School-environment factors represent the context of education/instruction, that is, where education is acquired and transferred. Class-environment factors represent an integrated context where the teacher - besides possessing his/her personal/individual characteristics - has some common interest in line with the home-environment as well as his activities being deeply influenced by school environment variables as well.

Since this study is empirically based - in order to obtain the answer to its research questions - on the reactions of bilingual bicultural students' experience, the main dilemma was:

a. Which research categories were appropriate;
b. Which research instruments could be included in each category, and
c. How we could ensure that the answers we got were expressions of the genuine values of the subjects.

As such, based on the content of section 6.3, *research instruments*, and according to the minutes of *the purpose of the study* section 1.2.2, the three interrelated and overlapping mother-tongue research categories were found to be an appropriate alternative approach. The reason for this is the fact that (i) each category (see section 6.3.2) although aims at approaching our problem from a different angle, the results they produce overlap and are interrelated, (ii) different research categories give us more scope to use a variety of instruments which can be complementary.

The answers to questions (b) and (c) above are left to the subsequent sections where the operationalization of the model is guided by the contribution of each division.

6.4.2.1 The contribution of the mother-tongue research categories to the operationalizaton of the Model

The serendipitious research category

This research category, as related to our current problem, helps us to explore the problems of mother-tongue teaching in Sweden. Two techniques namely: (1) Observation for an ethnographic analysis of the mother-tongue teaching in the context of formal education: The major purpose is *the presentation of the information that the participants themselves already know but may not have been able to articulate. In the school context, this means examining values and goals of school and individual teachers and what is taught formally and what is learned informally,* (Mehan 1979:173). *Such an approach also examines the interactional activities of teacher and students as socially organized events,* (McLaughlin 1984:149). In this sense, the ethnographer attempts to make explicit relationships and behaviour patterns that members of the social group leave implicit. (2) Interviews with students, teachers and administrators are intended to be performed as a test of the reliability of the information gained through observation.

The main objective pursued throughout this phase of the operationalization was to answer the following two questions:

1. The study's sub-question (a) in section 1.2.2 that is: *"to expolore and to describe whether the Iranian minority-language students in Sweden desire to maintain their mother-tongue skills and to develop their cul-*

tural identity, and so to incorporate these issues in their education"; and

2. Question one in section 6.4.1 that is: *"how and why the education acquirer makes a positive move during the selection phase or otherwise".*

The answers to the issues above are interrelated and complementary. Our assumption is that if - through the ethnographic analysis of the mother tongue teaching in the context of formal education - it is found that the minority-language students desire to maintain their mother-tongue skills and to develop their cultural identity, the following can be discussed:

a. The minority individuals have a positive conception of their heritage language and culture.
b. They wish to incorporate these issues in their education, and
c. How and why the education acquirers make a positive move at selection phase, i.e. they have:
   i) developed education/training adjustments,
   ii) ensured its appropriateness, and
   iii) determined that the education/training has an acceptable rate of return.

If the results gained through the ethnographic analysis are otherwise, it can be discussed the minority students' conception of their heritage language and culture have developed negatively. This is, as shown in figures 11 and 12 the crucial and midway point between synergy effects at the initiation phase and the analysis phase on the one hand and the implementation (starting-point) and the utilization phase (performance) on the other.

To sum up the discussion so far in this section, we can conclude that it is impossible to explore the problems of mother-tongue teaching unless we have diagnosed these problems through the evaluation of such instructional/education programs. To this end, according to Wolf (1984), some major classes of information will be needed:

1. Initial status of learners;
2. Learners' performance after a period of treatment;
3. Programme implementation;
4. Costs as a major factor and the real problem for administration and
5. Supplemental information (also see section 2.4.4).

More details are given in the section where data collection procedures are discussed.

The curriculum-centred research category

The research workers in this area have treated the issues related to *what to teach* and the *how of teaching* with utmost caution. Therefore, no attempt

has been made to obtain clear and precise answers to the fundamental question of *who shall teach what, to whom, how, where and when.* Unless this objective is met, it will be impossible to assess with any degree of objectivity the outcomes of mother-tongue teaching programmes.

Attempts to answer part of the above question form the basis for the implication of the curriculum-centred research category in our study. The questions identified in this respect are around the area of:

1. What to teach?
2. How to teach?
3. Who shall teach?

The three aforementioned questions are intended to be surveyed with the help of the following methods:

1. Secondary data, *which are data that were developed for some purpose rather than helping to solve the problem at hand* (Yin 1984:59, 91). This is a source of quick and inexpensive information gathering.

2. Case study, (Yin 1984) as an instrument used to try to illuminate a set of decisions on *whos*, *hows* and *whats* of the teaching of a mother-tongue: why such decisions were taken, how they were implemented and with what results. Observation and interviews will constitute the techniques employed.

The curriculum-centred research category per se is not an area for direct empirical scrutiny in this study. The findings gained through serendipitious research, the hypothesis-research category, the literature studies and our pilot study will give us the means to this end. The answers to the three questions identified above are intended to be drawn from the analysis and discussion of such theoretical and empirical data. The results will be given in subsequent chapters wherever we need to discuss, explain or recommend an alternative curriculum, content, method, control and context for heritage-language instruction.

The hypotheses testing research category

As was reported and discussed in section 6.4.1, *the remaining two questions for our empirical scrutiny were subquestions (a) and (c) in section 1.2.2.* Answering subquestion (a) was the objective to be pursued in section 6.4.2 by means of the serendipitious research category. Hypotheses testing research is the category used for the testing of the main body of the purpose or the hypothesis of the study that constitutes subquestion (c) in section 1.2.2. In so doing, we have also answered questions 2 and 3 in section 6.4.1. The research instrument intended to be applied in order to test this research hypothesis is an *essay test.*

Essay tests may indeed be required in certain situations. If we feel that the student has the necessary ability to read in the heritage language, we may also assume that his writing ability has kept pace. Only through an essay can we document the student's ability to analyse different situations; to discuss the differences and similarities, and so to reveal realities on the basis of his/her experience. Through essay tests, we can judge not only the individuals' cultural understanding but also their conception/behaviour towards the home-language instruction programmes and *what else* or *who else* affects their choice of a certain education in a society 2. This individual assessment in an integrated living situation (home environment representing society one and out-of-home environment representing society two) reveals:

1. The degree of *their polarity or attachment* to some definite values;
2. Their *integration and co-existence* with a variety of values leading to their comvergent thinking;
3. Their *conception of realities* as related to heritage language and culture, and
4. How *this conception of theirs* affects/has affected their linguistic competence and performance in the context of formal education.

The knowledge tested does not depend on a certain material taught but it may be related to, for example, their general knowledge in language and culture both from society one and in society two.

The results gained through an *essay test type* not only support our hypothesis-testing phase of the study, but in some cases complement the results obtained from the observation and interview phase (section 6.4.2).

6.5 Data collection procedure

At this point, one comment needs to be made. The model in chapter five is intended to represent a further means of analysing the bilingual education process, selection and practice in a socio-cultural perspective and on the basis of the individual student's experience. The concept *analyse* was used to mean *to examine something* in order to learn what it is made up of, to split up, to study or examine in order to learn about with comments and judgement (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, p 29).

Our approach as regards data collection is qualitative in nature and synthesising is a characteristic of this approach (Deshpande 1983): it means to attempt to combine separate parts, elements, substances, etc. into a whole or into a system; that which results from this process. Thus, the data collection and the related analysis are summarized in the following sections.

6.5.1 Procedure, sample selections and distribution

In accordance with the qualitative nature of our approach, data was collected by means of:

1. Observation
2. In-depth interview
3. Administration of *essay tests*
4. Document analysis

The objectives were to gain information which could help us to:

1. Understand human behaviour from the actor's frame of reference for a naturalistic observational measurement of the individual's concept of a certain education/instructional programme;
2. Gain a deeper insight into the process of making decisions on the choice of education and the determination of need adjustment leading to initiating starting-point and individual performance taking into consideration the insider's perspective;
3. Present conclusions and make inferences about future designs.

6.5.2 Observations: General description of the observees, aims and procedures

For observations, two groups of subjects were selected: (1) a preparatory class at Hagby school in Linköping, a medium-sized Swedish city, with eight Iranian students aged between 8 and 12; (2) ITK (a special pre-upper secondary school course for immigrant students) at a school in Norrköping, Sweden, with twenty Iranian students aged between 16-18 years. In the first case, the preparatory class students were observed regularly during one term (autumn, 1989). The intention was to observe and to find out what it was like to be a member of that class. Detailed notes were taken concerning the events witnessed, and eventually these were organized so that we could discover the patterns of events that had appeared in that class. To avoid lengthy discussions, readers are referred to (Sahaf 1989) for details both about the process and outcomes of this ethnographic study.

In the second case, twenty Iranian students who had at least finished middle school (9 years) studies in Iran and intended to enter Swedish upper secondary schools were the subject of our observations. They had their home-language, Farsi, as an optional subject replacing another European language, but not English. The process and intention of the observation was substantially the same as in the case of the preparatory class in Linköping with the exception that the observation was followed up for another 2 years after the same students had been promoted to different higher

classes at upper-secondary levels in civics, natural science, economics, technology, arts, music and so on. The observation continued not on a regular basis, but it was arranged that each group could be observed twice each term to witness:

1. Context and content of instruction;
2. Time-table, agenda, objectives; how they are set up and with what degree of objectivity;
3. Teacher - student interaction
4. Active participation and involvement in instructional activities: exposure to the heritage language and culture and getting reasonable practice; visual and aural practice leading to appropriate feed back;
5. The suitability of teaching materials and methods in relation to heritage language teaching;
6. The reason for individual students' choice of heritage language, and if it is satisfied in reality, and
7. The synergy effects of all these factors on the results gained at the end of a period of three years as compared with their expected results when these students first started their heritage-language course.

6.5.3 Interviews: General description of interviewees, aims and procedures

Subsequent to our growing understanding of events and the informants' construction of reality through observation which had begun in 1989, the interviews with 3 different groups were administered in spring 1991. The respondents consisted of:

a. Iranian upper-secondary school students in Norrköping, i.e. the same subject groups which had previously been observed,
b. Their parents,
c. School administrators and home-language teachers. School administrators included only principals, vice-principals and those who were involved in the education of minority/immigrant students.

The interview questions were for the most part open-ended. The questions were asked and the answers were written down in the space provided for each question. At the end of each interview, the respondents were asked to look at the responses in order to make sure that all possible misunderstandings had been avoided. Our ultimate goal was to involve the use of informants who could be interviewed in detail concerning events and their interpretations.

Since we had three different groups for our interviews, it was evident that the interview questions had to be different, Thus, the interview questions designed as follows:

Interview schedule No.1 was designed for pupils. The respondents were asked to answer 23 questions on: background information, personal and family educational background, and information about home-language instruction programmes in the formal system of education as they themselves perceived it. These questions were intended to reveal the roles of individual students' home, their home-language teachers and the effects of the structure of education on their process of choice of home-language instruction and the practice of their heritage culture.

Interview schedule No. 2 was designed for parents. The respondents were asked to answer twelve questions on: background information and their conception of home-language instruction programmes.

Interview schedule No.3 was designed for home-language teachers and administrators. The respondents were asked to answer 12 questions on: background information and information about their conception of home language instruction programmes both at macro and micro levels. Attached to interview schedule No.3 was a check list of variables identified during the literature study. The respondents were asked to specify and check the *strength* or *weakness* of each variable based on their experience and in relation to home-language instruction programmes at (a) the organizational level (b) the(intra)individual process level and (c) teaching level.

6.5.4 Essay test: General description of subjects and procedures

Essay tests were administered to the same subject groups as those observed three times on the same topic and on three different occasions: autumn, 1989 when they were ITK students, autumn, 1990 when they were attending their first grade in upper-secondary school, and autumn 1991 when they had been promoted to second grade.

6.5.5 The analysed documents

- Those used in the literature study such as: the 1975 legislation, SOU (1974, 1982, 1983), and Lgr. 1980;
- The school year books, specially where the education of minorities were discussed and special goals were proposed in relation to the instruction of their language and culture;
- School grade books;
- Circulars and correspondence in relation to home-language teaching instruction, and

- Correspondences describing the aims and content of in-service training programmes for home-language teachers.

To sum up, the data base for our qualitative research consists of two case studies, two group observations in Linköping and Norrköping, seventy eight in-depth interviews, twenty times three (sixty) essay type tests and a number of document analyses.

6.6 Validity and Reliability of the Data

One appropriate and useful device first used in the field of tests and measurements is the partitioning of credibility into two components: reliability and validity. Loosely speaking, *reliability* is the extent to which a measurement procedure yields the same answer however and wherever it is carried out; *validity* is the extent to which it gives the correct answer (Kirk and Miller, 1986:19). These concepts apply fairly well to qualitative observations.

As stated previously, different approaches were employed to increase the validity and reliability of our data. The interview questions, for example, were first tested on representatives of different groups in different towns and cities. The aim was to prevent any types of problems which may occur with regard to language misunderstandings and the accuracy of the interview questions. In some cases, certain questions with the same implications were phrased differently. The aim was to have double checked the respondents' answers to the same attributes/variables. In addition, observation studies and essay tests were carried over a relatively long period of time. The aim was to build a more justifiable, strong and firm base for our subsequent reasoning and arguments as well as allowing long enough intervals between each observation and test to be able to obtain triangulated *reliability* for our data based on the long-term effects of treatments.

6.7 Summary and Conclusions

The procedures discussed so far in this chapter were aimed at describing precisely what was done. In summary, based on the nature of the study and the applicability of some research approaches from the qualitative approach of research, the observation survey was selected for the first round of data collection. This approach satisfied our need to understand the phenomena from the actor's perspective through participation in the life of those actors. It also made it possible for us to define the situation of those studied.

In order to be able to collect valid information when dealing with such qualitative concepts as *conception* and *culture*, two qualitative research ap-

proaches namely, *interview* and *essay tests* were used as the tool for data collection.

Sample size was determined not only by the availability of subject groups, *motivation* in the case of students and being an immigrant or having some experience of minority education in Sweden were also criteria used in selection.

Furthermore, different measures were taken to increase the validity and reliability of our study. Among the concerns most focused on were *long term effects of treatments* and triangulation method.

The data gathered will be analysed in terms of the presentation of effects of different factors or the synergy effects of different factors on the individuals' interpretation of realities including the conception of education and instruction.

Chapter 7

DATA PRESENTATION AND REPORTS OF FINDINGS

7.1 Introduction

With respect to the ultimate goal of the study, the purpose of this chapter is to present data related to the two cases studied in Linköping and Norrköping respectively. Accordingly, it is divided into two main sections and some sub-sections:

- Section one presents data related to the aims and objectives of preparatory courses (FK) and provides the study with the necessary background information by means of an ethnographic approach. The collected data through observation and interview techniques will be used as a basis for our evaluation study of such instructional programmes according to Wolf (1984) and Cummins (1986).
- Section two deals with the presentation of data collected by means of observation, interviews, essay tests and document analyses. In this way, by means of an ethnographic analysis, (1) the aims and objectives of home-language instructional programmes for ITK and upper-secondary school students are understood; (2) The status of the heritage language of minority language students is discussed; (3) Through the evaluation of home-language programmes based on such collected data, the gap between expected and achieved results in home-language is identified; (5) subsequently, an adequate base is built up for our reports of findings to be discussed comparatively followed by the appropriate recommendations and implementations.

To sum up the discussion so far, as regards obtaining reliability by triangulation method (section 6.6), a multi-level procedure is proposed for the data presentation. In this procedure, the data collected through essay tests form the centre and the data collected during different stages of interviews and observation form the outer layers. This procedure is schematically shown in figure 14.

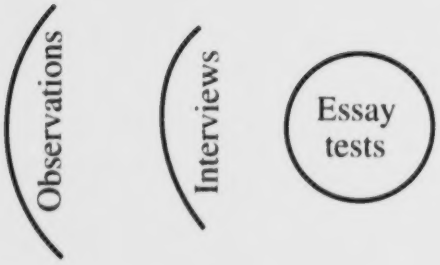


Figure 14. Integrated data collection procedure model for the study

At this point, it is appropriate to point out that since the preparatory class (FK) in Linköping has been the subject for a separate study (Sahaf, 1989), we do not intend to give details on every aspect of that study again. We believe that a short summary of the findings will suffice as our answer to section one. The complete version of this study will be given as a separate booklet for readers to consider.

7.2 Case one: A summary of aims, procedures and findings of an ethnographic study of FK in Linköping

7.2.1 Introduction

The study gives a background for the ethnographic analysis of the preparatory class, the subject of our research. In this context, relevant concepts are defined; bilingualism and the education of immigrant children in Sweden; its objectives, purpose, organization and political situation and the consequences they have had on immigrant education in Sweden, are described. Some points about classroom organization and interaction patterns are given. These indicate how classroom, organizational and interactional patterns affect language learning, and in what manner an ethnographic analysis in the school context may shed light on the examination of values and goals of school and the individual teachers as well as looking at what is taught formally and what is learned informally.

7.2.2 The study domain

As previously stated, this study intended, on one hand, to examine Cummins' (1986) theoretical framework in the case of preparatory classes in Linköping. Thus, the purpose was to find out to what extent Cummins' theory, that "minority language pupils are *empowered* or *disabled* by four major characteristics of schools", gained plausibility in a small scale ob-

servation study like this. The main focus was on identifying whether immigrant/bilingual education programmes carried out in the preparatory classes in Linköping - according to Cummins' suggestion of a dimension of pedagogy with two models at the extremes - were mere transmission models, reciprocal interaction models or both. On the other hand, ethnography was the approach used for an analytical study of a more contextual perspective of the social life of the classroom. As such, according to McLauglin's (1984:149) conception of ethnography and Mehan's (1979: 143) description of the major purpose of ethnography, the study concerned:

- A more specific contextual perspective on the social life in preparatory classes in Linköping for an analytical approach to classroom activities.
- The interactional activities of teachers and students as socially organized events.
- An attempt to make explicit relationships and behaviour patterns. In the school context, this means examining values and goals of the programme, and the teachers, and looking at what is taught formally and what is learned informally.

7.2.3 Cummins' Theoretical Framework for Minority Student Intervention and Empowerment

Cummins' (1986) theoretical framework concerns minority students failure, whether such students are in compensatory education or bilingual education. However, this study intends to focus on the latter, in addition to the fact that it will view the theory to cover issues both on educational success and/or failure in different forms.

Cummins' theory argues that minority-language pupils are *empowered* or *disabled* by four major characteristics of schools:

1. The extent to which minority language pupils' home language and culture are incorporated into the school curriculum.
2. The extent to which minority communities are encouraged to participate in their children's education.
3. The extent to which education promotes the inner desire of children to become active seekers of knowledge and not just passive reproducers.
4. The extent to which assessment of minority language pupils avoids locating problems in the pupil and seeks to find the root of the problem in the social and educational system or curriculum, wherever possible.

The theoretical framework can be summarized as follows:

Table 1. Cummins' Theoretical Framework for minority student intervention and empowerment

	Empowered Minority Language Children	Disabled Minority Language Children
Dimension 1:	*Additive:* Incorporation of Home Language and Culture in the School	*Subtractive:* Home Language and Culture excluded from the school
Dimension 2:	*Collaborative:* Community Participation	*Exclusionary:* Community non-participation
Dimension 3:	*Reciprocal Interaction Curriculum*	*Transmission Oriented Curriculum*
Dimension 4:	*Advocacy* Oriented Assessment and Diagnosis	*Legitimization* Oriented Assessment and Diagnosis

7.2.4 The Selected Factors and the Data Presentation Procedure

Cummins' (1986) theoretical framework is a theory which incorporates psychological functioning and educational attainment, and gives some cognizance to the social, economic and political background that is so often crucial to fully understanding bilingualism and bilingual education. The theory covers research on cognitive functioning, motivation, educational success or failure in different forms of bilingual education. This means that a thorough consideration of all these factors requires a long period of research. Thus, this study confined to focusing more on some limited and more easily observable factors included in Cummins' model related to characteristics 1 and 3 and to a lesser extent to characteristics 2 and 4. As such, the following factors identified by the model must be observed:

1. Is the minority language pupils' home language incorporated into the course activities?
2. Is the minority culture incorporated into the course programme and/or activities?
3. Are minority parents encouraged to participate in the education of their children?
4. Do teachers demand the participation of parents in the education of their children?
5. Are language use (L_1-L_2) and development consciously integrated with all curricular content, and are tasks presented to students in ways that generate intrinsic motivation?

6. In their assessments of minority language pupils, do the teachers locate all the problems in the pupils?

The answers to the above questions are expected to reveal - even though to a small scale - the characteristics of the preparatory classes for immigrant students in Linköping. The results will be explained in terms of:

- Additive v. subtractive dimension
- Collaborative v. exclusionary dimension
- Transmission v. reciprocal model, and
- Advocacy v. legitimization oriented

Procedures, methods, and sample selection

The preparatory class (FK) for the Iranian immigrant elementary level students for different grades and different age groups (grade 1-6) is in process at Hagby School, Linköping. At the time of observation, that is, April the fourth 1989, there were eight participating students. They were divided into three groups: beginners, intermediate, and advanced according to their knowledge of Swedish and the length of time they had been under instruction.

The teaching staff consisted of a Swedish 2 (SV2) teacher, a home-language teacher and an assistant home-language teacher. The Swedish and the home-language teacher were both qualified. They had been trained for the purpose, and had more than a decade of working experience with multicultural and multilingual children.

As discussed in chapter six, the overall design of this study is qualitative in approach. Data for this pilot study was collected by means of observation of the class activities, class organisation and teacher-student interactions as related to the educational objectives set and the expected results in an intercultural context. Interview techniques were subsequently employed to obtain confirmatory data from other sources relevant to our observation data. In both cases, careful notes were taken for our subsequent discussions and report of findings.

An appointment was made to observe the educational activities in the aforementioned preparatory class on April the fourth, 1989. The observer took part in a whole day class activity and, meanwhile, made plans for his further visits.

During this one-day teaching-learning activity, the pupils received instruction in mathematics, Swedish as a second language, home-language, geography and drawing. For more detailed descriptions of such activities, please refer to Sahaf (1989). The primary objective for the Swedish 2 teacher was to teach the pupils the Swedish language not in isolation but in relation to what other experiences or language competencies the pupils needed in a real school environment when placed in ordinary classes.

7.2.5 A summary of reports and discussions of findings

A summary of findings

The conclusions - relevant to the examination of Cummins' framework - are schematically explained and presented in table 2.

Table 2. Schematic presentation of conclusions relevant to case study No. 1

	Empowered Minority Language Children		Disabled Minority Language Children
Dimension 1:	*Additive:* Incorporation of Home Language and Culture in the School	>*	*Subtractive:* Home Language and Culture excluded from the school
Dimension 2:	*Collaborative:* Community Participation	>*	*Exclusionary:* Community non-participation
Dimension 3:	*Reciprocal Interaction Curriculum*	=*	*Transmission Oriented Curriculum*
Dimension 4:	*Advocacy* Oriented Assessment and Diagnosis	0*	*Legitimization* Oriented Assessment and Diagnosis

*> indicates the heavier weight observed for one component or behaviour; but does not necessarily reject the existence of the other. = indicates the equal weight or importance observed for both components. **0** indicates lack of data for direct discussion in a specific case.

This schematic presentation of conclusions shows that this specific preparatory class in its specific context proved to be more *additive* than *subtractive* and more *collaborative* than *exclusionary* in its dimensions. As related to the model of instruction, the observation showed that *reciprocal* and *transmission* models were both employed interchangeably. This is what the study has called a *complementary* or *reciprotrans* model.

Complementary model
or
Reciprotrans model

For dimension four, the observation could identify no justification for Cummins' argument that was relevant to its subject group. The reason was that despite (Cummins 1986 and Baker's 1988):

1. There seemed to be no grounds for educational psychologists or teachers to test and to observe a child until a disability could be found in that child to explain his poor academic attainment.
2. There was no reason to locate the root of the educational problem of an educationally alienated child in the social, economic and educational context in which the child operates.
3. Due to the nature of this preparatory class, the assessment of such children did not involve any comments on the power and status relationships between the dominant groups at national, community, school and classroom level.
4. Every efforts was made by both the Swedish and the home language teacher to facilitate the individual student's process of integration in the Swedish school system.

Discussion of Findings

Research, as its first intention, may seek the answers to very limited numbers of questions, but due to the additive/creative nature of any research study, massive findings other than those the study is intended to obtain are often collected. This study, as no exception, arrived at some conclusions that were not the primary intention of the study. Some conceptual frameworks can be developed in relation to the immigrant or minority language children's education such as:

(a) language teaching and language learning (L_1 - L_2),
(b) issues of cultural production and reproduction,
(c) classroom organization,
(d) classroom activities,
(e) teacher conceptions and students' conceptions,
(f) teacher competence,
(g) curriculum planning and application and the like.

Among the above seven issues, three more general ones have been selected for our further discussions. These three issues in one way or another speak for the other four issues which we do not intend to deal with separately. The selected issues and the related findings are as follow:

1. Language teaching and language learning: Summary of findings and recommendations.

a. Language is acquired and retained best if it is taught and learned not in isolation but in relation to what other experiences, skills or language competencies the pupil needs in a real life environment.

b. L2 is better internalized when a minority-language pupil uses it to express himself/herself by including his/her background knowledge, experience or cultural issues in his expressions.

c. In minority-language pupils' language instruction programmes, L1 may/can support the growth in L2 and vice versa.

d. Home language should not always be considered as L1, because an immigrant pupil who has been away from his/her home country for a long time, in many cases, does not know more than a limited number of language codes in his/her home language. He/she may be more knowledgeable in what is said to be L2. So, in many cases, as observed in this study L1 is L2 and the so-called L2 is L1 as far as the language of instruction is concerned. This, in turn, necessitates the close co-operation of the L2 teacher and the home-language teacher in order to make heritage language instruction more effective.

e. Respectively, L2-teaching strategies and methods should, on many occasions, be employed in teaching the mother tongue to the immigrant bilingual pupil.

2. Teacher: Competency, role, attitude and conception

a. A positive teacher attitude in bilingual education leads to a positive attitude of the student towards the whole programme and ultimately creates a positive student conception and his/her overall subsequent proper school performance.

b. The positive role of a pedagogically well-trained home-language teacher should not be underestimated. The more competent the home-language teacher (in preparatory classes), the more efficient and facilitated the instruction of a minority language pupil will be. This, in turn, leads to a better school performance by such a student in the future. In contrast, the underestimation of the role of the home-language teacher in the context of preparatory classes reduces his/her job to that of a mere translator who loses his/her active role as an active party in the process of instruction. Such a teacher can no longer act as a complement to the L_2 teacher.

c. In the case of the education of the minority language child (pupil), language instruction may meet its objectives more effectively if L_2 and L_1 teachers' activities are given the same value and weight in the class environment; so much so that their knowledge of the first and the second language and culture complement one another. Thus, in an immigrant or minority language bilingual educational programme, the width of gaps are reduced to minimum. This, in turn, prerequisites the fact that home language teachers must:

(i) have a good academic knowledge of minority-language pupils' language and culture,

(ii) have a relative awareness of the clarification of the lingual (L_1 - L_2) and cultural controversies in the context of specific immigrant/ minority -language situations, and

(iii) have a good teaching experience background: at least have teaching credentials to certify that he/she has the necessary background to be a teacher.

3. Curriculum planning and the structure of education

In the context of the education of the immigrant/minority language pupil, consideration of the following components in addition to the above findings can lead to a wider scope of informal learning. It is when the instructional activities of this kind are incorporated with:

a. A contrastive analysis of the pupil's interpretation of realities; concept formation;

b. A situational application of cultural and lingual experience of all the parties: pupils, and a combination of L1 and L2 teachers;

c. A diagnostic approach to pupils' needs.

In the sense that (1) what skills, attitudes and experiences they have already gained or formed in their country of origin, (2) what skills, attitudes and experiences they need in their new environment (society 2). Then in a need assessment strategy procedure, the gaps between the pupil's quality of education in his/her first society are identified in the light of the quality and the educational expectations of that certain pupil in the second society. In this way, it seems that educational authorities have to deal with more delicate and complicated educational (pedagogical and psychological) issues than the superficial problems an unaware system may thus identify. For example, in the case of the education of the minority-language child in Sweden, this need assessment procedure should involve the identification of the educational issues in a traditional education system - as in the case of most of the Middle Eastern countries - and those of Sweden as an advanced industrialized country. It is then that more efficient recommendations can be made concerning the education of the minority population of any country both at macro and micro levels.

7.3 Case two: An ethnographic study of the status of immigrants' heritage language at upper-secondary school level: An introduction

In section 2.4.4, we concluded, and argued, that any study that wishes to contribute to a deep understanding of *why's* and *how's* of bilingual education/minority language instructional programmes must admit a comprehensive study at macro and micro level simultaneously. The procedure is schematically shown in figure 1.

In section 6.5, it was related that in accordance with the qualitative nature of our approach, data was collected by means of: (1) observation, (2) in-depth interviews, (3) administration of essay tests, and (4) document analyses. The explicit intention (section 7.1) was to obtain triangulated reliability for our data on the one hand, and, on the other, to provide a background for the ethnographic analysis of the status of heritage language in the formal system of education in the two case studies. The underlying objectives have been to gain information which could help us: (1) understand human behaviour from the actor's frame of reference, (2) gain a deeper insight into the process of making decisions on choice of education and determination of need adjustment leading to initiating the starting-point and individual performance by considering the insider's perspective, (3) analyse the data gathered in terms of presentation of effects of different factors or the synergy effects of different factors on individuals' interpretations of realities including their conceptions of education and instruction (section 6.7).

Based on the issues above, the accumulated data by means of observation, interviews, essays and document analyses are presented separately at four levels: social level, organizational level, (intra)individual process and teaching level. Social and organizational levels cover the issues in the macro dimension. (Intra)individual process and teaching level deal with the issues of teaching-learning in the micro dimension. Each level, in turn, is sub-divided into different stages as shown in table 3 below:

Table 3. Model for the accumulation and the presentation of data in terms of their positive/negative contributions to the study

	Level-stages	Contributions = Strengths +	Weaknesses -
M A C R O	1. SOCIAL LEVEL • state • occupation • labour market • mass media • minority community		
D I M E N S	2. ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL • planning • decision-making policies • cultural issues		
M I C R O	3. (INTRA)INDIVIDUAL PROCESS • teacher-student interactions • motivation • learning processes • behaviour/attitudes		
D I M E N S	4. TEACHING LEVEL • objectives • contents • methods • organizations • relationships		

The data collected and presented in this way are expected to provide us with adequate background information in order to be able to answer the study's sub-questions a and c (see section 6.4.1) as guided by each division of mother-tongue research categories (see section 6.4.2).

7.3.1 Data accumulated by observation: An analytical approach

General

In this section, data collected by observation will be presented. Previously, in different parts of section 6.5, we have given details on our subject groups, identified the aims and posed a number of questions to be scrutinized in our observational study. It was moreover explained that our subject groups were observed in their natural instructional settings for three years. In this way, we have searched the long-term effects of the identified

factors in sections 5.3 and 7.3 on the individuals' conceptions of certain types of education including the issues related to their heritage language and culture.

In the following sections, a specific contextual perspective on the social life in the home-language classes for Iranian upper-secondary school students is given; the status of heritage language in society is explored; an overall view of state, school (administrators/other teachers than home-language teachers) are critically observed; home-language teachers' conceptions of home-language instruction and their relative competencies are discussed. In these processes, the intention is to reveal not only what is more visible in the daily curricular activities of schools, but what has remained implicit and is initiated from different interpretations of the reality about heritage language instruction programmes in the formal system of education. These implicit interpretations include different conceptions developed by different groups originating from their different socio-cultural systems. The concept *different groups* is identified as:

1. Individual students
2. Individual student's home or the relevant minority community
3. School as the context of instruction
4. Home-language teacher as language and culture mediator.

In order to present more reliable observational data in our case, the observer did no only observe Farsi (Persian)home-language classes. He was in close contact with as many as 120 different home-language teachers, teaching more than 1500 students in 30 home-languages in Linköping, Norrköping, Finspång, Växjö, Luleå, Motala, Malmö and Stockholm. The intention was to observe different groups rather than our subject groups in order to be able to present data and to discuss our findings from a stronger standpoint, providing a stronger sense of generalization.

The study domain and the procedure

As previously stated in section 7.3, table 3 is the model selected for the accumulation and presentation of data in terms of the positive/negative contribution of certain factors to our study. In this respect, the observation was planned to systematically follow the model and to use it as a checklist for the information obtained after each observation. The class activities were mostly observed with the intention of accumulating information at the micro dimension, that is to say, at (intra)individual process and teaching level. Social and organizational factors - apart from their decisive general and permanent guiding roles at the micro-dimension levels and stages - were also observed on every occasion. The purpose was to find out how changes in the macro dimension affect the life and class activities in home-language classes, especially during the school years 89-90 and 90-91 when debate on home- language instruction programmes and the ethnic minorities in Sweden was intense.

The rest of this section presents our data accumulated by observation, as a justification for our findings. Thus, the findings are first presented schematically (table 4) according to the positive/negative effects each factor has been observed to have on the Iranian upper-secondary school level students' conceptions of heritage language and culture in practice serendipitiously. Then, the reasons leading us to such conclusions are analytically discussed.

Report and discussions of findings

Data presented and conclusions discussed in this sub-section are a summary of our observational studies (see section 6.5) for an ethnographic analysis of mother-tongue teaching in the context of formal education (see section 6.4.2). The main purpose is to examine the interactional effects of the factors indicated by the model (table 3) on the education acquirer's conception of home-language instruction programmes in the selection phase according to the study's selected conceptual and analytical model (figure 12) in the case of Iranian upper-secondary school level students. The relevant conclusions are schematically explained and presented in table 4. Then, the findings are discussed and justified in the following sections.

Table 4. A schematic presentation of findings accumulated by observation fall 1989 - spring 1992

	Contributions / Level-stages	1989-90			1990-91			1991-92		
		p o s	n e g	n u t	p o s	n e g	n u t	p o s	n e g	n u t
M A C R O D I M E N S I O N	1. SOCIAL LEVEL									
	• state	+			+			+		
	• occupation			0			0			0
	• labour market			0			0			0
	• mass media			0		-			-	
	• minority community	+			+			+		
	2. ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL									
	• planning	+	-			-			-	
	• decision-making policies	+				-			-	
	• cultural issues	+	-			-			-	
M I C R O D I M E N S I O N	3. (INTRA)INDIVIDUAL PROCESS									
	• teacher-student interactions	+					0			0
	• motivation	+			+	-	0	+	-	
	• behaviour/attitudes	+					0			0
	• learning processes			0		-			-	
	4. TEACHING LEVEL									
	• objectives			0			0			0
	• contents: teaching materials		-			-			-	
	class activities		-	0		-	0			0
	• methods		-			-			-	
	• organizations: grouping	+			+			+		
	agenda		-			-			-	
	time-table		-			-			-	
	• relationships		-			-			-	

Notes: "+" indicates the positive weight observed for one component or behaviour from the majority of subject groups. In other words, a check mark in this column can be interpreted as the strengthening effect that component may have on an individual's conception of heritage language and culture. In the same way, "-" indicates the opposite implications as above. "**0**" indicates indifferent reactions observed for one component or behaviour from the majority of subject groups. If, for any component or behaviour more than one check mark is applied, it implies that its effects are conditional or contextual as will be discussed later on in this section.

Discussion of findings and justifications

Since this section is in fact a continuation of the previous section, the discussion of findings is best organized accordingly. As such, the relevant findings and their justifications pertaining to each dimension and the related levels and stages are as follows:

I The macro dimension
II The micro dimension

In relation to the macro-dimension, the intention is to report findings and to discuss their relevant justification at two levels: A) social levels, B) organizational levels. The micro-dimension section of the study consists of reporting findings and to discuss their relevant justification pertaining to the two levels of A) (intra)individual process, and B) teaching level. Furthermore, in order to facilitate the data collection procedure, presentation and the report of the relevant findings, the observation was carried out based on some selected factors. The aim has been to indicate the positive/negative weight (contribution) observed for one component or behaviour from the experience of the majority of our subject groups directly or indirectly. *Direct observation* indicates observing the visible reaction of our subject groups to one component or behaviour in their natural instructional setting without being exposed to external stimuli. *Indirect observation* indicates observing the reaction of our subject groups to one component or behaviour which cannot easily be observed, but the utterance of which is facilitated by an external stimuli.

Some of the findings relevant to the selected factors (table 4) are as follow:

I. Macro-Dimension

A. Social level

The factors incorporated in this level (stages) are: state, occupation, labour market, mass media and the minority community factors. First, the dilemma was how to observe the subject groups' reaction towards the degree of contribution of each of these factors, since, these factors were rarely found to be discussed in a home-language class. Thus, an indirect strategy was established to get the necessary information through external stimuli in the forms of discussion questions on:

a) the current debates on the situation of immigrants and their heritage language in the Swedish mass media;
b) the status of the heritage language and culture in society;
c) which of the above factors - from students' experience- help the maintenance/attrition of their heritage language and the development of their cultural identity; and,
d) if they desire to incorporate their home language and culture in their education.

The findings gained by means of this procedure are listed in table 5 for three subsequent years. Here, the findings by means of observations are given in the number of respondents' positive, negative or neutral reactions to our selected criteria in the macro-dimension relevant to the social-level stages.

Table 5. Degree of effect of different social level factors on the respondents' conception of the heritage language and culture according to the number of replies (N=20)

Contribution		1989-90			1990-91			1991-92		
Level-stages		+	-	0	+	-	0	+	-	0
M	Social level									
A	• state	19	0	1	16	2	2	11	4	5
C	• occupation	0	0	20	0	0	20	0	0	20
R	• labour market	0	0	20	0	0	20	0	0	20
O	• mass-media	0	0	20	2	18	0	0	15	5
D	• minority community	15	0	5	18	0	2	18	0	2
I										

As indicated by the respondents, the degree of effect of different social-level factors varies over time at state, mass-media and minority community stages. But during the three year period of observations, *occupation* and *labour market* factors were observed to have zero effect on their conception of home- language instruction programmes. According to our respondents (table 5), from the beginning of their home-language instruction programmes in 1989 when they were all ITK students, they showed their awareness (100% neutral effect answers) of the fact that in the labour market in general and in any occupation they choose in future, Swedish would have a top priority. In this respect home languages except those few top European languages such as English, French and German do not enjoy a high status in the labour market.

As the data indicated (see tables 4 and 5), *state* and *minority communities* were the two factors which were indicated by our respondents as making positive contributions to the individual conception of heritage language and culture in practice.

When the responses were evaluated, it could be seen that the respondents were aware of the fact that all the students in Sweden whose mother tongue is other than Swedish, are entitled the right to receive home-language instruction during their nine years of comprehensive school as well as in upper secondary school. The respondents believed that this Swedish legislation and the three main objectives for Sweden's policy concerning immigrants and minorities, that is: *Equality, freedom of choice* and *partnership*, were not only something to be valued and appreciated but to be applied in practice as well.

As related to the *minority communities* whether it be home or different cultural and educational centres for immigrants, it was ranked as having the highest positive effect on the individual's conception of heritage language instruction programmes at school. The respondents confirmed the fact that in order to be an understanding member of their families and their

minority communities and sympathetic to emotional issues raised in their home environments, they needed to maintain their home language and culture. The only means of developing their language skills, in the existing situation was felt to be the school. The home and the minority communities are supposed to be more engaged in the practical aspects of the heritage language and culture.

In relation to the existing influence of the *mass media,* the observation showed that radio, television and newspapers had the highest degree of immediate effects on the Iranian immigrant students' conception of their heritage language and culture at discourse level especially during the school year 90-91 and 91-92.

Our subject groups argued that home language debates in the mass media and the conclusion arrived at through these social debates had a negative impression not only at the organizational level, planning and decision-making policies, but on the (intra)individual process as well. Among the many assertions they made, the following were asserted to be the most visible factors affecting the class activities and meanwhile raising scepticism as to the existence of such programmes integrated in the formal system of education in Sweden. They are:

1. *Reduction of home language resources.* In many urban districts, the resources for home-language instructions has been reduced by between 20% and 50% since 1990.
2. *Reduction of the weekly teaching hours.* The number of weekly hours devoted to home language instruction has been reduced from approximately 50 minutes per individual student to 20 minutes.
3. *Lack of job-security for home language teachers.* Many home-language teachers do not have a sense of job-security any longer. They are on the verge of being dismissed at any moment.
4. *Scheduling.* In many cases, it is proposed that home language-teaching hours be scheduled for after the daily school activities.
5. *Status of the home language in society.* Following the lines of argument given by the mass media, the majority community took the opportunity to show openly its dismay with the state's investment in home language instruction programmes. These debates were continued in the Swedish parliament. Such reports in the mass media gave the home language classes a very inflamed atmosphere in which to talk about the status of the home language instruction programmes in the future. The discussions included not only the students' opinions, but what their parents, their Swedish teachers and friends would say in this connection.

The overall conclusions drawn by the subjects constituted the negative effects of the mass media on the life at home language classes. Our respondents took for granted the reports in the mass media as presenting the ma-

jority community's conception of home language and culture of the ethnic minority groups in Sweden.

But at the practice level, some very important changes or developments occurred in this respect based on some contradictory interpretations of social realities for different minority groups with different socio-cultural backgrounds. Some examples are given below:

1. A group like the Greeks, who had their own special after-school language and cultural instruction programmes, intensified their activities in out-of-school programmes. One example is the model in Norrköping focusing on teaching the Greek youngsters the language, history and culture of their country.

2. The Iranian immigrant groups in Norrköping - with the help of their cultural centres, arranged special language and cultural instructional programmes in the evenings. Such activities started in 1989 at two levels: Language, literature and culture, but did not continue for more than 18 months.

3. A third group of immigrants, such as many Turkish children whose parents strongly require them to retain their home culture, language and traditions, gave up schooling. Some of the reasons for their dropping out, as given by Reza Eyrumlu in Svenska Dagbladet, Saturday the 29th of February, 1992, are:

- Most of the Turkish population live in isolation. They have the least possible contacts with the Swedes as a result of their inability to communicate with them in Swedish fluently.

- Many boys start their after-school jobs in connection with whatever profession their fathers or relatives are engaged in.

- Many girls - after finishing the compulsory education have to be housewives and, consequently, the Turkish parents strongly believe that the integrated Swedish schools do not give the Turkish children enough of their heritage language and culture. They furthermore believe that if the Turkish children are not educated to value their old traditions and values, they will somehow turn against them and will be assimilated in the Swedish society. That is why, as Eyrumlu's (1992) research shows, 90% of the Turkish children in Göteborg leave school at the end of their compulsory education.

B. Organizational level

The factors (stages) incorporated in this level for our scrutiny are:

1. *Planning:* that is to say (a) how home-language periods are scheduled as compared with other subjects; (b) what differences are found between scheduling for home languages and a European language as a second language.
2. *Decision-making policies:* (a) how decisions are made at organizational levels namely at school units concerning the home-language instruction programmes (b) what effect these decisions have on the individual student's conception of the home-language teaching-learning process and

on their total conception of such instruction in the formal system of education.

3. *Cultural issues:* The ultimate aim at this stage is to scrutinize whether cultural issues have been the basis of the planning and the relevant decision- making policies concerning the home-language instruction programmes.

In so doing, the expectation has been to follow up the line of activities and to find out the degree of such effects on individual conceptions.

The accumulated data obtained by means of this procedure are listed in table 6. Here, the findings through observation are given in number of subjects' positive, negative and neutral reactions to our selected criteria relevant to the organizational level.

Table 6. Degree of effect of different "Organizational level" factors on the subjects' conception of their heritage language and culture according to the number of replies. (N=20)

Contribution	1989-90			1990-91			1991-92		
Level-stages	+	-	0	+	-	0	+	-	0
Organizational level									
• planning	15	0	5	2	18	0	2	18	0
• decision-making	17	0	3	0	17	3	0	19	1
• cultural issues	12	0	8	0	20	0	0	20	0

The data collected, pertaining to the effect of different organizational level factors, on our subject group's conception of their heritage language and culture show great inconsistency with the length of time they have been under instruction.

During the school year 89-90, it is found that a relatively high percentage of subjects had a positive conception of the effect of organizational level factors. Evaluation of the responses obtained indicated the fact that this positive attitude of our subject groups was the result of:

1. The socio-cultural systems of their native country which govern their value systems and their conceptions of home language and culture. In this system (see sections 2.5.4) language is synonymous with identity and their cultural traits, rooted in pre-Islamic values, are the most influential on their decision-making processes.
2. Their relatively short time of residence in Sweden.

3. Their lack of practical experience as immigrant students who do not have any conception of the processes of teaching/learning a home language in a school system which has many other priorities. Priority number one, as expected, is Swedish as the language of instruction. Other priorities are to compensate for the scientific: Technical and theoretical shortcomings the immigrant students have. Another crucial job for a school is to make every effort to promote the socialization of the newcomers into the system. This means an overall attempt to expose the immigrants to the language and culture of the majority community.
4. Based upon their past experience, the subjects still thought that the most important subject for an immigrant student to study at school was his/her mother-tongue and his native culture. They suggested that the home- language programmes must also include discussions on their native country's history and help them with scientific subjects as well.

But in reality, it was discovered that a majority of subjects - during their first year of schooling - strongly believed that whatever the planning or whatever the decision-making policies might be, they should welcome the chance they were given to learn/study their home language.

When questions were raised on the effects of the cross-cultural issues affecting their conception of their home language and culture, a group of our respondents emphasized that:

> We are convinced that Swedish people believe in and value pluralism in society. That is why we are given the opportunity to study our home language at school.

while some others stated:

> It is too early for us to see how our conception of education at large and that of our home language specifically is affected by the cultural issues in the host country. What is now important for us is the fact that we are given the opportunity to study our home language as a compensation for another language or school subject in which we do not have adequate knowledge or competence.

A comparison between the results which emerged, based on our data collected for the school years 90-91 and 91-92 with the conclusions drawn during the school 89-90, shows that our subjects are more involved in observing their situation and the context in which they are instructed in their home language more critically. In this respect, table 6 shows clearly that our subject groups are more aware of the new social and organizational changes that directly or indirectly influence their interpretations of realities. In their discussions, it was constantly observed that they complained about the structure of education at the organizational level as providing an unpleasant context with the result that our subject groups concluded that:

1. Political decisions are based only on economical factors, but not on the real recognition of immigrant children's needs.
2. Most of these decisions are taken out of the heat of ethnicity. They argued that:
   a) It is accepted that a home language lesson is as important as other subject matters.
   b) It can compensate for a B and C language which normally consists of 3 to 4 periods a week while the minority students do not have the same possibilities as those who study a European language as a B or C language.
   c) B or C languages are scheduled in the school timetable, but home language instruction periods are planned outside the daily school timetables.
3. A knowledge of majority culture and language is very crucial in every immigrant youngster's life and his/her future success. The following statement is a representative of the majority:

> It is for the first time in our lives that we are called immigrants or minorities. It is for the first time that whatever we do, write or say is judged by a group who often say: *you might be right, but it is difficult for us to understand what you mean.* It is because of cultural differences. *We try to understand you, but you need to get yourself more acquainted with our language and culture to avoid misunderstandings in our communications and relations.*

In their comments, although the majority cultural issues seemed to be of minor importance at first, the subjects had later - that is to say after a longer period of residence in Sweden - found it one of the most crucial factors in their interpretation of realities. At the same time, the discussions among our subject groups had changed direction. They seemed to have a dilemma. During different discussions they used the proverb:

> When in Rome do as Romans do.

But they believed that, for immigrant children or youngsters, there are two Romes: The objective world they are living in (the host country) and the subjective realities of their native land. The former is what they are experiencing and the latter consists of a series of norms governing their lives at home. Norms which are in practice, of lesser importance in society two compared with the norms accepted by the majority community but at least equally important to an immigrant's social life within his minority community.

As shown in table 6, 100% of our subjects (N=20) confirm the fact that cultural issues current in society two have a negative effect on their conception of furthering their skills in their heritage language and culture. At the same time, they do not reject the fact that knowledge of their heritage language and culture is necessary to cope with their communications

and relations with their families and minority communities. In fact, they believe in the co-existence of the two cultures and languages, but implicitly show their great understanding *of the current situation that:*

> The cultural issues with their decisive role on planning and decision-making policies promote the majority's language and culture or simply promote the assimilation of the minority groups.
>
> In the formal educational system, it is very natural to see to it that the minorities are exposed to the majority culture and language as much as possible.
>
> For very obvious reasons (see section 7.3.1B), the home-language instruction programmes at schools must not be considered as a means of furthering the knowledge of our heritage language. They must be considered as small windows through which we are in contact with our heritage language and culture.

II. The micro-dimension

The micro-dimension division of our study consists of two levels, nine stages and five sub-stages (see table 7). As no exception to the general pattern of the data presentation procedure, and the reports of findings relevant to the macro-dimension part of the study, the observation study at the micro-dimension followed the same line and intended:

(a) to accumulate data on the degree of effects of the factors included at each level of the micro-dimension serendipitously on our subject groups' conceptions of their home language and culture in practice, and
(b) to give relevant justifications for our findings based on our subjects' positive, negative or neutral reactions to their environment.

In table 7, the accumulated data and findings are given in number of responses followed by their relevant justification for different levels namely (a) (Intra)individual processes and (b) Teaching level.

Table 7. Degree of effect of different "(Intra)individual process" factors and "Teaching level" factors on the subjects' conceptions of their heritage language and culture according to the numbers of reactions (N=20)

	Contribution =	1989-90			1990-91			1991-92		
	Level-stages	+	-	0	+	-	0	+	-	0
	3. (Intra)individual Pro.									
	• teacher-student inter.									
	• motivation (to learn)	20	0	0	12	4	4	5	11	4
	• behaviour/attitude	20	0	0	11	5	4	2	16	2
	• learning process	5	0	15	5	12	3	2	16	2
M	4. Teaching-level									
I	• objectives	0	0	20	0	0	20	0	0	20
C	• contents:									
R	- teaching material	0	20	0	0	20	0	0	20	0
O	- teaching activities	0	0	20	0	0	20	0	0	20
	• methods									
D	• organizations:									
I	-grouping	15	0	5	16	0	4	12	2	6
M	-agenda	0	20	0	0	20	0	0	20	0
E	-time-table	0	20	0	0	20	0	0	20	0
N	• relationships	0	20	0	0	20	0	0	20	0
S										

A. (Intra)individual Processes

The factors incorporated in this level are: teacher-student interaction, motivation to learn and to practice home language and culture, individual attitude/behaviour toward home language and culture and the learning process.

1. *Teacher-student interaction.* In order to accumulate data on the effect of this factor on our subject group's conceptions of their heritage language and culture, it was essential first:

a. to break down this factor into some other components which were assumed to have direct or indirect influences on the teacher-student interaction from teacher's side and then

b. to report our findings in fragments leading to our general, accumulated conclusion relevant to this factor.

The teacher-student interaction factor was first subdivided into the following components for more accurate data to be presented and more reliable findings to be reported. The components are:

- Teacher competency in the sense of home-language teachers' linguistic competence, teaching credentials and experience from their native countries or in Sweden.
- Home language teachers' conceptions of bilingualism: attitude and awareness of "why's" and the identifications of students' needs.
- Active participation and support from the teacher's side which are supposed to create better teacher-student interaction in the class environment.
- Cultural backgrounds

Our three subsequent observations of our subject groups show the fact that the *teacher-student interaction* factor cannot be scrutinized from the insiders' perspective. The reasons are: (a) The insiders - the students under instruction - do not have access to the background information needed for an analytical argument of the case; (b) the insiders may see the ends in the form of certain reactions or behaviour, and (c) only an outsider who has relatively access to the background information and at the same time observes the process can arrive at a more logical interpretation of the situation.

That is why the data presentation and the reports of findings in this respect are based on the observer witnessing the class environments and the background information he could get by reading files and documents.

Our files and document analysis of 120 home language teachers in eight cities and towns (see section 7.3.1) shows the following data, as it appears in table 8, on the teacher competence components:

Table 8. Presentation of teacher competency components in percentage during the school year 90-91

Teacher competency components	Percentage of the holders out of 120 home language teachers
• language-teaching credential:	
from native country	16
in Sweden	37.4
none	46.6
• language-teaching experience more than 2 years:	
in native country	15
in Sweden	75
none	10

As the data indicates, the gap between truly trained and experienced teachers in the field of home-language instruction programmes and the need for home language teachers is in practice very wide. This is why the school departments have always tried to employ full-time or part time home language teachers according to a directive issued by the ministry of education.

This directive is called the *minimum requirements* for a home-language teacher to be employed. The minutes of this directive comply more with the requirement of being permanently employed than with the requirements needed for temporary employment. Among these groups are all the home-language teachers with the following qualifications, if they not among the first group.

1. Those applicants with at least some teaching credentials or merits in any other subject than in "languages" from their native country.
2. Those who have received part of their education in Sweden. These groups are normally those who have been away from their native country for quite a long time and are more experienced in other fields of study than languages. These include young home-language teachers who for some reason could not finish their university education in different fields.
3. Pre-school teachers who have finished their pre-school teacher education in Sweden.
4. Bilingual home-language teachers who have graduated from Stockholm or Malmö who are only employed in a few big town and cities. This group includes a very small percentage of the home-language teachers.

The evaluation of data so far acquired and the observation of the class activities justified our findings that the conceptions of bilingualism held by a majority of home-language teachers had shifted:

1. To monolingualism in the sense that they had engaged themselves in very limited aspects of home language skills such as reading texts, conversation and composition writing to the extent they could manage, but not to the extent an upper-secondary school student was expected to perform and in relation to L_2.
2. To the field of other expertise in the sense that the home-language teacher was observed to be more inclined to assist the students in mathematics, chemistry, physics and civics depending on his own previous experience.

As a result, the overall observation data indicate that the teachers for many obvious reasons, most of which depend on the *Teaching Level Factors*, and other *(Intra)individual process factors*, cannot be very active participants

in the class activities. This is indicated by our observations during the three years. The core of events is as follows;

1. During the first year of observation, the teacher-student interaction process was mutual. The participants affected by their home country's socio-cultural system were motivated to participate regularly in classes and to do their assignments. The teacher was required to provide them with more material.
2. From the beginning of the second year, when our subject groups are promoted to upper-secondary school, our data shows that teacher-student interaction becomes one-sided due to the less positive effect of the teaching level factors and (intra)individual factors. The observer could clearly see that the class activities were neither student-centred nor teacher-centred. They had become dominated by the will of the students. The reasons were:

a) Teachers' lack of awareness of their students' socio-cultural changes: Cultural integration, and change in their need priorities.
b) Lack of correspondence between the contents of the materials taught and the nature of realities in society two. This is especially true in the case of immigrant students coming from non-European countries.
c) Lack of suitable text books. The text books used in most home- language instruction programmes are those published in the native country of the immigrant students. In many cases, it was observed that many expressions, similies and metaphors seemed to be meaningless to the students. On the other hand, such materials are printed with the intention of being taught to students who study them as a first language. It was evident that such materials and text books did not suit a student who is not in his native country's environment any longer.

2. Motivation

In section 3.5.1 and 3.5.2, we have discussed the fact that:

a) An individual's motivational tendencies are believed to shape his academic adjustment and performance, and that motivational factors affect both a learner's classroom behaviour and success in learning situations;
b) The motivation *to want to become* or *to continue to be* as rudimentary in bilinguals;
c) *Motivation* helps explain why a person may wish to learn a second or a further language, and finally;
d) We have rationalized why it is the *motive* and the *need* that lead a person to favour bilingualism or reject one language in favour of another. Furthermore, theoretically, the distinction made between motives and motivation is that motive is a stored potential that may at certain times become activated or may remain dormant. Motivation is the activation of a certain motive.

Thus argued, the study intended to be involved in a deeper scrutiny of the component *motivation* and to not only obtain data through observation. The reasons were that our subject groups showed considerable discrepancies in their assertions at discourse level and at practice level. At discourse level, they said they needed to know their heritage language and culture, but at practice level they were neither regular participants nor attentive listeners in the class. They did not do their homework, and were more interested in the oral practice of the language. So, it was essential for the study to be provided with adequate informative data on:

1. Whether or not our subject groups feel the need to know their heritage language and culture based on their interpretation of reality;
2. Under what circumstances "motive" as a stored potential may become activated and lead a person to favour bilingualism or vice versa. That is to say, the activated motive or motivation favours:
   a) the maintenance of a minority language and culture,
   b) elitist/folk bilingualism (see section 2.3.1).

In this respect, the data was collected both by means of observations and a questionnaire, handed out to our subject groups during the autumn of 1991. The questionnaire (see section 7.3.4) was intended to support our data collected by means of observation on the one hand, and to obtain a deeper understanding of our data interpretation concerning the two above mentioned questions on the other. The findings are:

1) Motivation to maintain minority language and culture is negatively correlated with our subject groups' length of residence in Sweden. The longer their stay, the less they feel the need to invest both time and effort in studying their minority language at school. This does not necessarily mean that they have favoured the attrition of their minority language and culture. On the other hand, they strongly believe that they need to have an acceptable ability in their heritage language. But at the same time, they show their awareness that it is more profitable for them to invest both time and effort in the Swedish language. The reasons given are:
   a) They already know enough of their home language to make it possible for them to communicate with the members of their families and their minority group.
   b) Swedish is the key to their future success. That is to say, if the minority groups do not have adequate lingual knowledge of the majority community, they cannot expose themselves to and cannot be exposed by their surroundings.
2) A positive relationship was found to be between our participants' motivation and their behaviour or attitude towards learning their heritage language at school on the one hand and the learning process factors and

the teaching level factors on the other, as will be shown in subsequent sections.

The conclusions are: The activated motive or motivation favours more those aspects of bilingualism that are called *folk bilingualism* rather than *elitist bilingualism*. In the case of mother-tongue language learning processes of our subject groups, it was found that "survival" in the minority group is the motive for each individual's attempt to learn his/her mother tongue. In the case of learning Swedish or a major European language, it was found that the individual's positive attitude and motivations were among the most decisive factors. The most important reason given was the fact that (a) a knowledge of the majority language and other major European languages not only makes it possible for them to obtain access to privileged groups or higher status, but it is also necessary for their socialization/integration in the majority community, (b) it is these aspects of bilingualism that the schools are most concerned about and interested in, and (c) at the organizational level, the administrators are sympathetic towards the minority languages and cultures at discourse level, due to the decisive and strong effects of other macro and micro dimension level factors on their interpretation of reality before the selection phase.

3. Attitude

In the previous part of our discussion on motivation, it was found that there was a positive relation between our subject groups' motivation to learn their heritage language at school and their attitude or behaviour towards bilingualism when home language is one of the components (see table 7). Moreover, in section 3.4, it was argued that:

1. When talking about a specific language, attitude towards it cannot directly be observed. Thus, attitude was defined in relation to behaviour;
2. Experience as a reinforcement may modify attitude, and this attitude change is an important notion in bilingualism and, finally;
3. Theoretically, attitude consists of three components- cognitive, affective and active (see section 3.4.2)- and the attitude towards a specific minority language may be thought about and be capable of being transmitted by words or other symbols.

Thus argued, based on *input- output attitude theory* (section 3.4.2), the study concentrated most on observing the visible behaviour of its subject group as a result of the learning process factor and the teaching level factors. The reason is the fact that, as related to schooling, attitude (behaviour) is conceived as an outcome of education and is important because it may provide more long lasting effects than achievement in examinations.

In this connection, our primary intention has been to assume that theoretically, whatever components might constitute *attitude*, they are difficult

in practice to separate and to identify. The only visible dimension of attitude is when attitude may lead to action or constitute readiness or background for action. This dimension of attitude study falls into and coincides with the "active" domain of attitude which may be inferred by the results gained through the scrutiny of learning process factors and the teaching level factors.

The general findings related to the attitude (behaviour) shown by our subject group as guided by the information provided in tables 4 and 7 are given in the rest of this section. The relevant justifications will be presented in subsequent sections when we present data on the learning process factors and teaching level factors. Of course, the effects of other factors so far scrutinized on our subjects' conceptions of their home language and culture in practice must not be underestimated.

The data reveal the following results:

- The decline in a favourable attitude towards home language with increasing length of study at school is constant, with a particularly noticeable drop from the second to third year.
- On the whole, a less favourable attitude towards home language is connected with relatively low attainment in home language according to a self-rating questionnaire.
- The individuals feel that home language is necessary to the integrity of their ethnicity and culture, but at the same time, they are not convinced that under the existing circumstances they can ensure its transmission.
- They have negative views about the way home language has been taught, planned and financed, and its teaching-learning processes facilitated in and by schools.
- They have a fairly low commitment to its use.

4. The learning process

The observation data show a very high correlation between *Learning processes* and other macro and micro dimension factors, especially *teaching level factors* and *(intra)individual process factors.* Furthermore, the data reveals the fact that the learning process is directly affected by individual characteristics on the one hand and the desired educational results on the other. Moreover, it is observed that the synergy effects of these categorized variables affect the learners' educational achievements. Figure 15 represents the main components observed to affect the learning process (educational process).

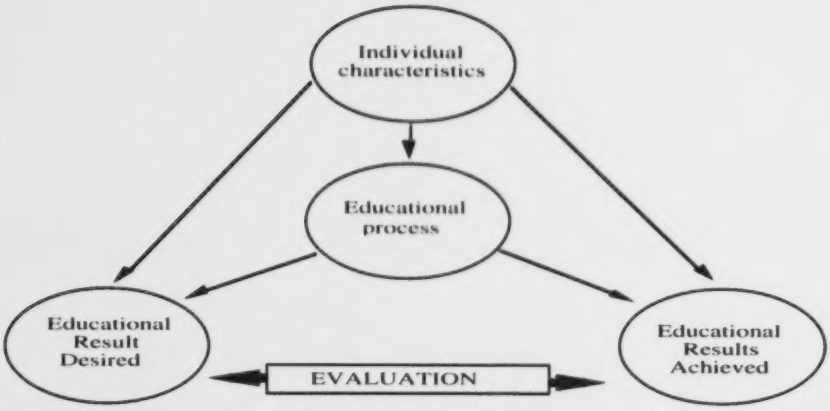


Figure 15. Model for educational evaluation

The variables identified for each component are:

i - Individual characteristics. These comprise the initial variables determining both the education transferer's and acquirer's characteristics. They are:
- cultural backgrounds
- family background and their perception of specific education
- personal situation
- schooling experience and background knowledge
- individual or group social interaction
- individual's perception of specific education
- individual's involvement in educational activities

The observation study in this respect reveals the fact that the individual's perception of specific education, including heritage language instruction programmes, is the focus of the individual characteristics. The findings show that all other variables identified for each component are a means to this end. *Perception* is a process-oriented term and is a prerequisite of the individual's *conception* of reality which is shaped in the minds of different people.

ii - Learning process (educational process) variables. This heading covers process factors in educational activities. Process factors imply and include areas in: curriculum, programmes, organization, administration and management. The identified variables are:
- instructional activities
- organization (educational unit organization)
- the source of decision-making and the implied rationales
- instructional evaluation

Learning process (educational process) has been the subject observed and findings relevant to the study are discussed in this section. The study has so far revealed the fact that any discussion on educational process (learning process) cannot be commented upon without considering all the identified variables also related to other components (see figure 15). As identified above, two very important variables, i.e. instructional activities and educational unit organization, are stages (see table 7) to be tackled under the heading *teaching level factors* in the section micro-dimension B which is discussed in the following sections. The only conclusion we can draw so far is that there is a very high correlation between the degree of effect of different *learning process* variables and the identified factors for each level according to our schematic presentation of findings (table 4 and 7), especially from the second year of observation. The first year can be regarded as the time adjustment needed for the individuals to perceive the educational process as it really is in practice. Table 7 shows that 75% (N=20) of our subjects, during the first year, cannot openly identify whether the effect of the *learning process stage* on their conception of heritage language and culture is negative or positive. But from the second year on, they have a negative conception of the educational process related to home-language teaching programmes in the formal system of education and this remains constant (80% in the third year) until the end of the third year of observation. The most important reason proved to be the lack of logical relationships between different stages of teaching level factors. Table 7 shows that our subjects find no reasonable relationship between the idealistic objective set up for home language teaching as a goal to be met and the means for achieving this. More details will be given in the following sections.

B. Teaching level

The factors incorporated in this level are: Objectives, contents (teaching material and class activities), teaching methods, class organizations (grouping, agenda), timetable and the relationships which are possibly found among these stages as related to home-language instruction programmes in the case of our subject groups, and similar groups in other cities and towns.

Objectives

In section 2.4.4, the explicit goal of the official Swedish home-language teaching policy is identified as: *providing a strong foundation for academic and personal growth resulting in full participation in Swedish society.* Jakobsson (1981) expresses the rationale underlying the official Swedish policy for the goal of home-language instructional programmes as being to achieve *"Active bilingualism"*.

In order to achieve this ambitious and explicitly expressed goal, the educational authorities have presented the following proposal for curriculum

planning for ITK and upper-secondary school level students who select home language thus compensating for another school subject. The details of this proposal are as follow: (source: ITK circulars, 1990).

a) Goal

i) Home language instruction programmes must be arranged and planned in line with the comprehensive aim of teaching at ITK to prepare the students for upper-secondary school.

ii) Studies in home languages must be aimed at enabling the students to use the language as an instrument for the acquisition of knowledge.

iii) The goal is for the students to reach a level of competency which enables them to relate the acquired knowledge to their future studies.

iv) Learning with understanding in home-language instruction programmes, as in the case of any other subject matter in ITK, takes its priority.

b) Contents: points to be covered in the lesson plan and agenda

1. Language orientation

1.1 Language as a means of communication and learning
1.2 Connection between oral and written language, handwriting
1.3 Grammar: different parts of speech, sentence analysis and word formation

2. Reading comprehension

2.1 To understand how a text is structured
2.2 To be able to judge the reading material and to be able to analyse and to evaluate different texts

3. Written reports

3.1 Ability to give the text an interrelated structure and the ability to express oneself clearly
3.2 The ability to relate the language content and form to the aim of the text

4. Oral reports

4.1 Ability to structure and to make a short speech
4.2 To be able to take part in discussions and debates
5. Literature

5.1 Different kinds of literature: prose, poetry, novels, romance, plays, etc.

5.2 Simple analyses of different kinds of texts
5.3 As an example: contemporary literature

6. Study technique

6.1 Library: The student must know how to use the library
6.2 Ability to use dictionaries, word lists, handbooks and reference books independently
6.3 Ability to give summaries and conclusions, both written and oral
6.4 Note-taking techniques

Comments. Before proceeding further in our arguments and justifications of the findings gained through observation of teacher student's degree of awareness of the details of the objectives set for home language instructions, we must clarify the following:

a) The proposition presented above has basically been drawn up for the teaching of Swedish to immigrant students as a foreign language or Swedish as a second language. The only difference between the two propositions is the term *home language* which has been substituted for the *term Swedish* or *Swedish as a second language.*

b) The proposition is very idealistic and, at the same time unrealistic. Among many other reasons, the most important ones are:

- The goal is too ambiguous in itself. Very general rather than specific behavioural terms are used for the course descriptions. A very good example is item (iii) above. Here, the goal for home language instruction programmes has been identified as to *"reach a level of competency which enables the learners to relate their acquired knowledge to their future studies."* The phrase "level of competency" should have been specified, that is to say: level of lingual competency of immigrants' age group-students in their home countries or of Swedish speaking students in Sweden.
- The goal is not set based on the identification of:
  - who the student is,
  - who teaches
  - how, where and when home-language teaching takes place.

Findings. The results related to this part of the study indicate that 100% of the students (N=20) were not aware of the goals and objectives of home language instructions (see table 7). To them, what was most important was the fact that they could study their home language as compensation for another school subject. In this case, they depended on their teachers' interpretations of the goals set.

On the other hand, our observation shows that the teachers are more or less aware of the details of the set goal and contents for home-language teaching in the formal system of education. But because of the following shortcomings, they do not follow the proposal and their agenda is planned more on the possibilities rather than on a long-term need assessment. More details follow in the sections where we analyse and discuss findings on:

content, organizations, grouping, agenda and timetable. The most important shortcomings affecting the full implementation of the "proposition" were found to be:

1. *Lack of time*. The time allocated for each student is 20 minutes per week or max. 80 minutes for a heterogeneous group ranging from new immigrant groups newly arrived from their native countries with a relatively fresh knowledge of their home language and those who have been in Sweden for a relatively long period of time. The latter are those who have really a good command of Swedish compared with their very poor knowledge of their home language.
2. *Lack of applicable teaching material*, except for those languages such as Spanish, French, Greek, English, German which are augmented by new and up-to-date teaching aids from different sources.
3. *Lack of teacher competence* in coping with the problems which arise in such heterogeneous groups. Lack of teacher experience in this case was observed to lead to a totally student-controlled class, in which decisions on the quality and quantity of teaching material were influenced by the students' "will".
4. *Unsuitable timetable* for home-language instruction (see subsequent sections).

These, in addition to many of the above mentioned factors, resulted in the course objectives not being met. The observations (during the three subsequent years) indicated that in almost all the home-language classes, the teacher was forced by the situation, caused especially by *the lack of time, lack of applicable material and the unsuitable context*, to deal more with a loose agenda than a pre-structured organized lesson plan on an successively additive basis. It was also observed that except in few cases where they were both experienced and competent as language teachers, the teachers deviated substantially from the goals of language teaching. They either tended to their fields of expertise or concentrated more on the oral aspects of the language.

The cumulative observation data gathered from eight different cities and towns indicated that out of the limited and insufficient time devoted to home language instruction, the following percentages were given to different aspects of the content proposed by the educational authorities.

Table 9. *Percentage of time devoted to different aspects of home-language teaching during one term (max. 15 sessions/term)*

Aspects	Percentage
• Grammar	5
• Reading comprehension/reading	15
• Written/composition	10
• Oral: discussions + debates	35
• Literature (Note: not in the sense identified by the proposition. Only as text reading.)	5
• Others: tests, examinations	20
• Wastage due to holidays/other activities	10
Total	100

2. Contents, method and organizations

Teaching content, methods and class-organization are the three stages that not only have strong interactions, but are components that, to a very high degree, may compensate for other shortcomings which a teacher may face in his/her working context. In the case of the former, it can be argued that groupings are made according to individual's or group's competence and needs in a special subject. Contents (teaching materials and class activities) are chosen accordingly after which the proper teaching methods are diagnosed to facilitate the teaching-learning process. Subsequently, a teacher's lesson plan can be structured on a successively additive basis in accordance with the groups' needs and abilities. On the other hand, the suitability of contents and teaching methods to the needs of different learners both helps increase their motivation to learn and can be considered as a means towards effective learning or educational process.

By *suitable content*, we mean any text, teaching material or teaching activity which is selected according to the need/s of the learner, is interesting to him, and conveys meaning. In contrast, a meaningless content is one where the learner cannot get any knowledge useful for his daily life. It does not motivate and is regarded as something which must be done or read. As a result (see figure 15), teaching-learning activities tend to deviate from teacher-student co-operation toward the fulfilment of the objectives set and leads to drop-outs and/or irregular class-attendance in the short term and to the individual's negative perception of a certain education in the long term.

The observation data related to the degree of effectiveness of teaching content, teaching methods and class-organization in the case of our subject group indicated the following results. Each finding will be subsequently followed by the proper justification. The findings are:

Contents: teaching material; class activities

i - *Teaching material*. From the first days of the observation study, it was noticed that the Iranian students, especially those who had been in Sweden for a longer periods of time, were critical and complained about the teaching materials they were given. Their complaints were mostly directed towards their text books. Comprehension of the meanings and the applications of many content words, sentence structures, proverbs, similies, metaphors etc. were observed to have made the texts not only very difficult but meaningless since their interpretation required a deeper linguistic and cultural knowledge than the learners possessed.

The analyses of the text books, on different occasions, showed that the texts had been written for traditional language and literature teaching initiated from a socio-cultural system different to the one than most young Iranian students were in contact with in their everyday lives. For example, as far as contemporary Iranian literature text books are concerned, they are mixed more with the ethical, supernatural, theological and idealistic aspects of literature in everyday life. The same or similar texts are used as examples in basic language books and grammar exercises.

If we take for granted that the overall goals of language studies are effective communication and cultural understanding (Finocchiaro and Bonomo, 1973), we can more easily analyse the contents of different books and comment on:

- The degree of the suitability of a text with respect to the needs and knowledge level in the learners,
- How to plan teaching activities which lead to the effective communication and cultural understanding of our learners;
- What qualities a home-language teacher, as a language and culture mediator, must have;
- Why the teaching-learning activity in home-language classes must be planned on the basis of the interrelationship of linguistic and cultural subsystems of bilingual-bicultural students and in relation to L_1 and L_2 agenda and class activities, and finally,
- What is the best or at least most applicable teaching method/s in this respect.

We have so far justified item one and argued why our subject groups (100% during the three years of observation) found the teaching materials in Farsi (their home language) unsuitable, uninteresting, and in many cases meaningless. The most important reasons were observed to be:

- The teaching materials, texts of different kinds, were selected from the books written in the students' native country. They were written for students who study Farsi as their first language and who are in contact with the language and the culture of the society in their everyday lives;

- Misinterpretation of the immigrant students' linguistic abilities and cultural understanding in the sense that almost all the teachers were observed to regard their students as Iranians who study their home language as their first language. The controversies lay in the fact that being an Iranian does not mean that he/she has learned and knows his home language at a level corresponding to his age group development. In most cases, they were young children who had come to Sweden and had acquired their teenage linguistic and cultural experience in Sweden and in Swedish. Thus, observation showed that Swedish was in fact their first language in which they had acquired their experience of everyday life while their home language, in comparison to Swedish, had a very limited application. It was used to a limited extent at home - only for daily communication with their families, and once a week at school. Justifications for the rest of the above comments will be given in relation to the related sections that follow.

ii - Class activities. In order to obtain observational data on the class activities, we needed a framework that could both be used as a checklist and as a measure for our subsequent evaluations. Thus, the most suitable framework - in our view - would be based on the description of "language" with concerns for the linguistic and cultural content. This framework happened to be in line with what Finocciaro and Bonomo (1973) had presented. Their diagram is based on the two most common descriptions of "language":

1. Structural: Working from the phonemes of the language; that is, from the minimal units of meaningful sounds, to the morphology (the form of words), and then to syntax (the arrangement of words).
2. Generative - transformational: working from the kernel or base sentences to the surface structures.

Which ever description is used, the ultimate behaviour expected of the learners is the ability to listen to a flow of speech with understanding, to produce a flow of speech and to read and write. Each of these abilities requires a knowledge of four basic subsystems of language: (a) The sound system; (b) the grammar system; (c) the lexical system and (d) the cultural system.

All these subsystems are interrelated and come into play when an idea - even a one-word utterance is to be expressed. It is thus obvious that language teachers must have a knowledge of the items within the various subsystems of the language and must be aware of how the subsystems are related to each other in listening, speaking, reading and writing. The meaning of any utterance is the combination of the sound, grammar, lexical and cultural systems reflected in it (see figure 17).

The accumulated data according to the selected framework for our observation of the incorporated activities in the home- language- class context reveal the following findings.

With respect to the ultimate behaviour of the language learner, which is the ability to listen with understanding and then to produce a flow of speech and to subsequently read and write, it was found that:

a) The class activities were directed towards the oral aspects of language practice. This language activity was performed on the basis of instant decisions, because no other possibilities were available. For example, the students had not done their assignments, or were not willing to do any reading or writing assignments. It was observed that there were many difficulties when the students were assigned to read, write, or do grammar exercises.

b) As far as the teachers were concerned, apart from two cases - one in Linköping and one in Norrköping - there seemed no visible logical understanding of the relationships between linguistic and cultural subsystems in planning the activities. The results found were:

- pronunciation and intonation problems,
- syntax, word order and sentence-forming problems;
- spelling problems;
- total language mix while talking and writing;
- misinterpretations of fixed expressions, values, and habits
- a tendency to become involved in the surface meanings of the texts rather than in a deep understanding of concepts.

c) Furthermore, it was observed that the activities were not planned and selected in advance, nor were they related to a logical step-by-step procedure identified by behavioural objectives and/or in behavioural terms for reaching a certain identified objective. They were based on a less rigid agenda based on the temporary interest and will and taste of the students. The results - according to the author's impression were to be:

* Language stagnation versus language development, in the sense that very little or no language development (in home language) occurred during the three years of observation.

* Language mix, in the sense that the longer the individual's stay in Sweden the more language and culture interference (from the dominant language and culture) were observed to occur. During the stagnation period in their home language development, our subject groups had developed their abilities holistically in other languages, social sciences, history, etc. and in Swedish as the language of instruction at school. Meanwhile, they had learned new skills, practices and knowledge and the related concepts and terminologies in the Swedish language. So, at this point, it was gradually observed that our subject groups uninten-

tionally and of necessity mixed the two languages in their arguments and discussions.

The data related to the effectiveness of class activities (table 7) show that 100% of the subjects (N=20), during the three years of observations, were able to clearly identify whether or not their class activities were suitable. But, on the other hand, they asserted that there was a great difference between class activities in their home-language classes, and activities in their Swedish and English classes.

3. Teaching methods.

There are many objectives in teaching in general and in teaching a language or a home language in specific. Whatever the objectives, Ericsson (1986) and Alatis, et al. (1981) suggest that the essence of teaching/language teaching consists of:

> A. A person (who may be termed a teacher who performs. ...
> B. Any activity designed to facilitate the learning of something by. ...
> C. Another person (who may be termed a learner). (ibid., p 8)

Gage (1978) gives a definition of "teaching" in which he shows the essential dependence of teachers on learners:

> By teaching I mean any activity on the part of one person intended to facilitate learning on the part of another. (ibid., p 14)

To sum up, teaching is thus a matter of facilitating learning and it is often regarded as being the ways or the methods used to bring about learning.

With regard to the above definition of *teaching*, the main task for this section of the study was to observe:

a) How the teacher facilitates learning in connection with the following identified variables that are supposed to influence his/her instructional methodology:

i Academic content: What does the learner already know about the subject?
ii Learner's behaviour: What must he do to learn?
iii Instructional objectives: What is to be learnt
iv Teacher's behaviour: Competence, expectations

b) The learner's behaviour after a period of treatment (teaching)

i Did the student learn?
ii Didn't the student learn?
iii What happens now?

In the previous sections, the findings and the concluded results have covered some of our answers related to the above questions. The findings so far indicate that:

- The learners, such as ITK or upper-secondary school level students, have not acquired language skills and knowledge in their home language comparable to either their Iranian or Swedish students of the same age who have achieved a high degree of language acquisition in Farsi or in Swedish.
- According to the answers to interview questions, the learners seem to be convinced that they know enough Farsi to express themselves in their daily communications with their relatives. Since, there is no more desire for further development, they are not motivated to contribute more effort and time to acquire more skills and knowledge in their home language.
- The most controversial question, both for the Iranian students and their home language teachers, is observed to be not the question of *what is to be learned* but the question of *why to be learned* ? In almost all cases, the teachers were observed to talk about the advantages of knowing one's own home language and an understanding of one's own culture. The students admitted the reasoning, but the question they raised was *to what extent* and *with what effect* one must learn and study one's home language.
- Individual differences were considerable; and, as indicated in previous sections, although home-language classes are small in number, the degree of heterogeneity is large.
- As a result of the synergy effects of the above variable on the class activities and the teaching-learning context, even the few competent teachers could not follow the details of the proposition for home language instructions nor were a detailed lesson plan and/or related teaching activities (methods) observed to be applied and implemented.

Our accumulated data (table 7) show that our subject groups never commented on the teaching activities during the first year. The reasons were (a) they were new in the Swedish schools (b) the home-language teacher's teaching method was more or less the same as the traditional teaching method they were used to in their native country.

From the beginning of the second year, it was observed that - from time to time - our subjects compared the home-language teaching context with that of the Swedish classes or English instruction programmes. During such discussions, they brought up questions and comments on the differences existing between what teachers do in other language classes and why the same teaching activities could not be planned for home-language instruction. The controversies between different class activities had given them the understanding that the teaching activities in their home-language

classes did not facilitate their learning. This is documented by the direct assertion of 90% of our subjects in 1990-1991 and by 100% in 1991-1992. (N=20)

Apart from the above mentioned justification of a home-language teacher's inability to be active and well organized for every session, further scrutiny based on our definition of *teaching* revealed the following findings:

- Situational and contrastive analysis methods were the two most commonly employed methods in the Swedish, English and other language classes where the teachers were both trained for this purpose and supported by-up-to date and relevant teaching materials.
- Home-language teachers, except in very few cases, had never been trained to be language teachers nor did they have a relatively adequate competency-based teaching experience.
- They were unaware of: a) their student's needs as regards the language, b) shifts in their educational priorities and, c) how they as facilitators could meet their students' needs by selecting interesting teaching materials and the proper means of facilitation.

4. Organization: grouping, agenda, timetable

As mentioned in the previous sections, almost all home language classes are heterogenously organized. From the teachers' viewpoint's this heterogeneity was considered to be as a disadvantage while from the learners' view-points it was considered to be an advantage. It was a disadvantage in the sense that (a) the teachers could not plan a common agenda for the whole group; (b) the class had to be divided into smaller groups, and (c) effective teaching-learning was not possible due to the lack of time and other previously mentioned shortcomings. It was an advantage in the sense that based on the peer tutoring learning process, different subgroups were observed to benefit from each other's knowledge in their discussions and debate.

In this respect, the accumulated data in table 7 show that a majority of our subject groups (N=20) during the three years of observation (75%, 80% and 60% respectively) believe that heterogeneity is beneficial. While 100% of the subject groups strongly believe that scheduling the timetable (see previous section) outside regular school hours, that is, during lunch hour, or late in the afternoons and evenings, has a negative effect on

- learners' conception as to taking the home language instruction programme seriously;
- teachers' motivation to plan a well-designed and pre-structured agenda.

5. Relationships: A summary of conclusions

One of the main tasks specified for the study was to observe, to scrutinize and to find out whether there existed logical relationships, in practice, among the incorporated factors (stages) in *teaching level*. Thus, we tried to critically observe the sequence of events and to find out and present the relevant justifications according to the insiders' perspectives as regards an unbiased interpretation of realities. In this connection, to the extent possible, the degree of effect of different teaching level factors on our subject groups' conception of their home language instruction programmes was scrutinized over a period of three consecutive years. The findings were as follows:

1. The goal of home language instruction programmes is not based on the identification of
   - who the students are
   - who teaches
   - how, where and when home-language teaching takes place and with what effect
2. The goal seems to be very idealistic but also unrealistic. It is *idealistic* in the sense that the purpose of home language instruction programmes is specified as achieving active bilingualism, while home languages in any host country including Sweden, can have limited practical applications. They are used only for limited communication purposes at home, but have no real applications in the outside world. Some elite, universal languages such as English and French are exceptions. It is *unrealistic* in the sense that idealistic goals are achieved when, in reality, they are provided with a proper means to this end. Proper means in our case is identified as proper contents, teaching activities, teaching material and, most important, the context in which teaching-learning occurs and the effect of inner and outer variables on the teaching-learning process and ultimately on an individual's conception of a certain education.
3. Teaching content, methods and classroom strategies and organizations are found to be the three stages that have not only strong interactions but are also factors that, to a very high degree, may compensate for other shortcomings which a teacher may face in his/her working context. This, in turn, requires a group of understanding and competent teachers who can facilitate this process by helping the students out of language-learning stagnation towards a more elevated language development stage.

To sum up the discussion, the general findings based on the data presented (tables 4 and 7) leads to the conclusion that *neither the subjects nor the observer found any logical and practical relationships among different stages of teaching level factors and the idealistic goal set for home language teaching*. Our ultimate judgement is based on the analyses of our

collected data (tables 4 and 7) in terms of the presentation of effects of different factors on individuals' interpretation of realities. In our study, it means the logical relationship between the means of achieving the objective: - contents, methods, organization - and the objective itself as an end. The results appeared to be negative.

Summary and conclusions

In section 7.3.1 and the related subsections, observation techniques are used as an analytical approach for the accumulation of data according to our selected model (table 3). In this connection, data collection covers and examines a wide spectrum of interactional effects of the factors indicated by the proposed model on the education acquirer's conception of home language instruction programmes in the selection phase (figure 11) in the case of Iranian upper-secondary school level students.

The most significant results emerging from the examination of the interactional effects of the factors incorporated at macro-dimension levels and stages of the study (figure 1) showed that:

- Social-level and organizational-level factors function as a powerful context. This powerful context-whether it be the social context or the context of education models, changes and shapes the immigrant individuals' interpretations of reality including their choice of education.
- The Iranian immigrant students, at the early stages of the selection phase, define and identify their educational priorities according to the socio-cultural system existing in their country of origin. After a longer period of residence in a host country they develop a kind of *Mini-Culture* which is the outcome of the interaction of their heritage culture and the adopted values from the culture in contact that is the culture of the majority in a host country. *From this point on, their decision making-process is affected by this mini-culture, as is the identification of their need priorities including their choice of education and their attitude toward their heritage language and culture.*
- The more the ethnic minority groups are isolated from the majority dominant group, the more attached they are to their past national values including their heritage culture and language. In the reverse case, the greater the integration with the majority, the more open they are to accepting new norms, life styles, values, etc. They think more comvergently and interpret the occurrence of events logically and with understanding based on the value systems of the two cultures. Being isolated means that an individual's concept formation is processed and governed more by his/her *local* and *religious values/value system* (see figure 2). Integration means, however, that elements adopted from other cultures (adopted culture) have interacted with the other two dimensions.

- Immigrant youngsters live in two worlds. The objective world they are living in (the host country) and the subjective realities of their native countries. The former is what they actually experience and the latter consists of a series of norms governing their lives at home. They are norms which are less important in society two compared with the norms accepted by the majority, but at least of the same importance to an immigrant's social life within his minority community and leading to the co-existence and integration of two cultures.
- From a review of our findings related to macro-dimension factors of the study, it was found that occupation and labour market factors have the least significant effect on the Iranians' conception of their heritage language and culture. The state and the Iranian minority community was found to have the most positive effect while the mass media as a social factor and the three organizational factors identified (table 4) were found to have the most negative effects on the Iranian young student's conception of his/her heritage language and culture.
- Through the analysis of the findings so far, it was confirmed that *the role of the family* was not so decisive as other social factors (context factors) for the conception of or behaviour towards their heritage language and culture. On the other hand, it was implicitly concluded that parents abilities to identify their youngsters' needs based on their knowledge of the majority's culture facilitated the social integration processes of their children. On the other hand, their lack of awareness of and/or a knowledge of the culture of the host country was found to be the main reason for their isolation from the majority community and their attachment to their local (native country) values.

The most significant results emerged from the examination and evaluation of the interactional effects of the factors incorporated at micro-dimension levels and stages of the study it was confirmed that:

- The gap between the truly trained and experienced teachers in the field of home-language teaching and the need for home-language teachers is very wide.
- Motivation to maintain minority language and culture is negatively correlated with the length of residence in a host country. The longer their length of stay, the less they feel the need to invest both time and effort in a minority language as a school subject. *This does not necessarily mean that the Iranian youngsters tend toward the attrition of their heritage language and culture altogether.*
- Majority language (Swedish in Sweden) is considered to be the key to Iranian students' future success. L_2, in this case, is in fact a tool or a key for world revelation.

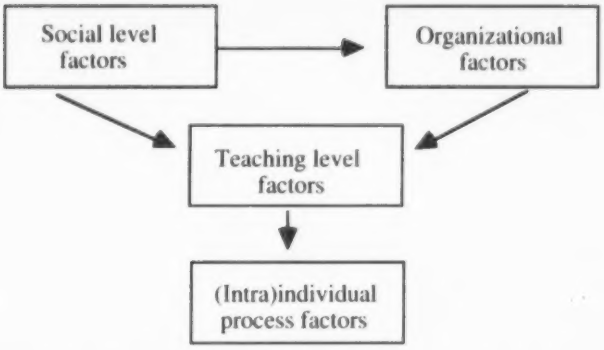


Figure 16. Diagram illustrating the direction of effects of different factors identified by table 3

- Teaching level factors have a decisive effect on (intra)individual factors and are, in turn, very much affected by social factors and organizational level factors as shown in figure 16.

- Through the analysis of (intra)individual process factors, it is confirmed that (a) there is a high correlation between motivation and our subjects' behaviour or attitude towards learning their heritage language at school on the one hand and (b) the learning process stage and the teaching level factors on the other. This is the key to our argument as to why the Iranian students cannot ensure the transmission of their heritage language in the existing context namely, where education is delivered (delivery perspective of education) with a view of the learner's awareness of the learning that takes place as a receiving perspective.

From the further analysis of (intra)individual process factors and teaching-level factors the following conclusion emerged:

- The decline in a favourable attitude to home language is correlated with increasing length of instruction at school and is constant with a noticeable manifestation both at discourse and practice level during the second and third year.
- A less favourable attitude towards home language is connected with relatively low attainment in home language. This is what we have called language stagnation versus language development.
- Unfavourable attitudes, in the case of our Iranian subject groups, are very much due to the conviction that under the existing circumstances *(synergy effects of macro and micro dimension factors)*, they cannot ensure the transmission of their heritage language and culture to an ac-

ceptable degree. Moreover, they have a rather low commitment to its use.

- The most controversial question both for the Iranian students and their home language teachers is found to be not the question of *what is to be learned* but *why to be learned and to what extent and with what effect.*
- As related to the class organization, grouping is another controversial issue in home-language classes. Heterogeneous grouping and peer tutoring were found to be one of the effective class strategies as ranked by the students. But the home-language teachers found it to be not analogous with the uniformity of class activities and teaching activities.
- The goal of home language instruction programmes is too ambiguous and idealistic to be achieved and is not based on the identification of

  • who the students are
  • who teaches and with what qualifications
  • how, where and why home-language teaching takes place and with what effect.

7.3.2 Presentation of interview data

Introduction

In section 6.5, in-depth interviews were proposed as one of the data collection methods. In this connection, three different clusters of interview questions were given to our three different groups of interviewees, namely: eight preparatory class students in Linköping, twenty ITK students in Norrköping, thirty Iranian parents, ten administrators and ten home-language teachers. A summary of the results from the interview with our first eight preparatory class students in Linköping was given in section 7.2.

Our primary intention in this section has been to present data gathered by means of interviews with different subject groups according to the same procedure as the one presented in sections 6.3 and 6.5. But, for various reasons - we felt the need for some modifications both in the structure and the procedure used in our interview data accumulation which was performed in the spring of 1990 and the autumn of 1991. The most important reasons supporting the need for this modification were:

1. Our better understanding of different situations;
2. Our awareness and re-identification of the key factors which could lead us to a better solution of our research problems;
3. To avoid collecting unnecessary data;
4. Our concern for an insider's perspective after a period of instruction which -as emerged through our observational findings- could be best presented if based on our subject groups' longer experience.

Description of and justifications for modification

Following our line of reasoning in section 7.3.2, two different aims are set up for this section. First, to present justifications and, second, to give a description of the needed modification.

As in the case of the effects of the relatively long-term contacts with different interviewees, observees and teaching/learning situations, we arrived at a better understanding of (a) the nature of the interviewees (b) how to re-structure our interview questions; (c) how to perform the interview and with what effect, (d) whom to include/exclude as interviewees and why and (e) how to describe our subsequent plans in this respect.

Our first attempt to accumulate data by means of interviews began in the spring of 1990 and lasted for almost one year. During this time, the answers to some of the interview questions appeared to be very conservative. A good example was the answers given by eight out of the ten school administrators to our interview schedule No. 3. They were provided with a checklist to find out where they could identify the strengths/weaknesses they had experienced in relation to home language instruction programmes. The answers we received from eight out of the ten interviewees were: neither this nor that, but somewhere in the middle.

In the case of the results obtained through observation, we could clearly see that some of the questions we had previously proposed for the interview data collection were not analogous with our expected results and that they would have to be restructured based on the obtained findings through observation so that the data collected by different techniques could support each other. The most important issue was our approach to data collection. Most of the home language teachers did not like/want to analyse the problems face to face. Interviews with parents were not without their problems. During the first interview session, when they were gathered to be informed about our intentions concerning the interview activity in order to obtain their co-operation, it was found that 25 out of the 30 people invited did not know or had very little information about the purpose and the goals of the home language instruction programmes in Sweden. They did not even know enough about the educational process involving their children in Sweden.

For many reasons, the above being the most important, the following modifications were found necessary:

- The interview questions to be written down and handed over to every interviewee in a language they could understand with their translations into English for our study purposes.
- The interview questions previously identified were structured according to the general pattern used in order to obtain a comprehensive, general information about the interviewee followed by informants' reactions to some relevant questions on the study problems. But since such general

information about sex, age, professions, etc. were not to be used as decisive and influential factors in our conclusions, they were omitted.
- To obtain the necessary information from home-language teachers, data was gathered not in face-to-face interviews but after a day of in-service training (17-4-1991) in the form of written discussion questions. These questions were given not only to Iranian home-language teachers, but also to other home- language teachers in Norrköping representing 17 languages (see table 10).

Due to the conservative nature of the replies given by administrators, it was decided that only a summary of the conclusions gained through interview schedule number 3 would be presented for our subsequent comparative analysis of the case if necessary. With respect to the ultimate goal of the study which has had concerns for insider's perspective, it was decided:

- Not to administer the interviews and essay-type tests to our Iranian students at different times, but at the same time, i.e. towards the end of their home language instruction programmes, namely, during the last term (spring, 1992). This was supposed to be the best possible occasion for the learners' to react to the (a) long-term effects of different variables on their conception of home language and heritage culture in practice, and (b) to identify and to categorize the importance of these factors based on their individual experience.

In the following sections, the data and the findings based on our integrated data collection instruments/procedures are presented in relation to each cluster of subject groups.

7.3.3 Data accumulated by discussion questions: home-language teachers' perspectives

Introduction

The data in this section will be shown within the same framework as the one employed for observation. The main format for data presentation will therefore be based on the direct quotations of the informants' replies to the following four discussion questions.

1. In elementary, lower-secondary school, and upper-secondary schools, many students stop studying their home language. What are the main reasons in your experience. (Please, write your answers according to their degree of importance. 1, 2, 3. etc.).
2. What can we do to encourage the students to continue?
3. What do your students say when they want to give up studying their home language? (Quote the exact words, please).

4. What do your students say when they continue with their home-language instruction? (Please, quote the exact words.)

The purpose was to promote our ability to obtain triangulated reliability with the help of different research techniques.

General description of respondents

The population, which responded to our discussion questions after a day of in-service training, consisted of 35 home language teachers active in teaching 17 different home languages in the city of Norrköping and its suburbs to approximately 500 students with different socio-cultural backgrounds. Their numerical distribution is shown in table 10.

Table 10. Numerical distribution of home language teachers, participants in the in-service training seminar(17-04-91), according to different languages

Language		Number of participants N=35
1	Arabic Assyrian Syrian	7
2	Chinese	1
3	English	1
4	Finnish	4
5	Greek	1
6	Hungarian	1
7	Polish	1
8	Persian	5
9	Rumanian	1
10	Serbo Kroatian	1
11	Spanish	8
12	Czeck	1
13	Thai	1
14	Turkish	1
17	Kurdish	1
	Total 17	**35**

In the next section, data accumulated by means of discussion questions is presented and relevant findings are discussed.

Reports and discussions of findings

In connection with our four discussion questions given to the home-language teachers (see section 7.3.3), the answers identified and categorized the following as important factors in: (a) individual students' conception of

home-language teaching and learning, (b) the related class activities; (c) the educational results expected and achieved, and finally (d), their commitment to its use and/or its incorporation in their education. The identified factors as related to each question are first given according to ranking and then the relevant findings are presented and discussed.

The data collected pertaining to the reasons why the ethnic minority students at different levels of schooling stop studying their home languages (question 1) has identified and confirmed the importance of the following factors from a teacher perspective at macro and micro levels. They are given in table 11 according to the degree of their importance (frequency of teacher utterance) and based on teacher experience.

Table 11. Degree of importance of the factors, causing students to drop out from home-language instruction programmes according to the frequency of teacher utterances (N=35)

Identified (uttered) factors	Frequency of teacher utterance (N=35)	Identified Category/level
1. Insufficient weekly hours	33	Teaching
2. Unsuitable timetable	33	Teaching
3. Poor results after a period of instruction	28	Ind. Process: outcome
4. Teacher competence	26	Teaching
5. Lack of support from home	24	Social
6. Home-language is not important compared to other languages (status of home language in society)	22	Ind. Process: Attitude
7. Lack of suitable teaching material	21	Teaching
8. Discouraged by others/situations/society/friends	26	Social
9. Lack of nationalistic feelings	4	Social

Based upon the accumulated data, it is observed that six out of the nine factors determining the drop-outs of the ethnic minorities from home-language instruction programmes are among micro-dimension levels and stages. Four factors namely, factors 1, 2, 4 and 7 (see table 11) can be categorized under teaching level factors. Factors 3 and 6 are related to the (intra)individual process stages. Factor 6 shows the negative attitude of the ethnic minority students towards their home-language instruction programmes: its teaching-learning process as well as the results achieved (factor 3). Factors 5, 8 and 9 are the macro-dimension level factors and can be categorized as stages of social level.

The interpretation of the data in table 11 leads to the following results:

1. Teaching-level factors, with their relatively high frequency of utterances based on teachers' experiences, are identified as being the most articulated reasons for an individual's lack of interest/motivation in participating in home-language instruction programmes.
2. The outcome of education (factor 3) and the status of home language in society (factor 6) are the two interrelated factors revealing the effects of the social and educational context on the learner's conception of his home language and his negative attitude towards it.
3. Based on attitude function - attitude change principles, contexts may condition attitudes towards a minority language and culture. This is identified and articulated by home-language teachers as *"Discouraged by others, situations, society and friends"* (factor 8).

To sum up our discussion so far, we may conclude that the synergy-effect results emerging from the data presented in table 11 indicate how attitude change occurs and what issues and ideas may be considered important in minority language survival and maintenance and vice-versa. Here, it was found that attitude changes both as a function of individual needs and motives as well as the function of social situation. In this connection, the need for success, reward and cognitive consistency interacting with the effect of pleasurable contexts and environments and valued models are among the variables that influence both the maintenance and/or attrition of a minority language as well as the individual's characteristics and abilities (competence).

The data collected pertaining to the factors important in persuading the ethnic minority students to continue studying home languages at school (question 2) has identified and confirmed the factors given in table 12. In other words, it can be interpreted that based on the experience of home-language teachers' and from their perspective on these issues, steps must be taken to make the home-language instruction programmes more effective. The factors identified are given in table 12 according to their degree of importance (frequency of teacher utterance).

Table 12. Degree of importance of the factors identified for effective home language instruction programmes according to the frequency of teacher utterances (N=35)

Identified (uttered factors)	Frequency of teacher utterance (N=35)	Identified category/level
1. Support from school/society (context of education)	32	Social
2. Support from home/minority community	32	Social
3. Co-operation between home and school/ teacher and student	31	Organisational
4. Effective teaching: competent teachers	27	Ind. process
5. Including home-language instruction in the timetable	26	Organisational
6. Co-operation between home-language teacher (L_1) and the majority language teacher (L_2)	25	Organisational
7. Suitable teaching material/method	22	Teaching: content
8. Relate contents of teaching to the realities of society 1 and society 2	21	Teaching: relationships
9. Homogeneous groups	14	Teaching: grouping

Our primary intention has been to obtain adequate information on the factors (variables) important to effective home-language instruction programmes as identified and graded by home-language teachers as our informants. The categorized data show that six out of the nine identified variables are among macro-dimension factors while only three variables fall into the micro-dimension section of the study. The interpretation of data, as we can see, shows that:

Macro-dimension variables: social-level factors and organizational level factors have a decisive effect not only on teaching-level factors and subsequently on (intra)individual process factors, but they also produce a favourable/unfavourable context (social or educational) that leaves its imprint on the individuals' conceptions of the maintenance/attrition of their home-language and culture in practice. This finding supports our previous similar finding in section 7.3.1 and the identification of the direction of effects of different factors presented in table 3. As such, our further interpretation of the data - based on our informants' confirmation - leads to the conclusions that:

a) It is the effect of the macro-dimension factors on the individual's characteristics and subsequently on his self-concept (the picture one holds of oneself) that leads to his re-conceptualization of the realities including his home-language and culture.
b) To eliminate the negative effects of macro dimension factors in this respect, the home-language instruction programmes must be planned and executed properly on the part of the education transferer. In this respect, our conceptualized integrated education/training model(figure 11) is proposed where the required activities associated with each phase are listed. In this model, as confirmed by the data presented in table 12, perpetual collaboration of all the officials involved in the process of educating individuals is implied *for their understanding of the student's process of choice of education as a key factor in the future success of such transactions.*
c) It is through the consideration of the mutually beneficial efforts of the two parties involved in the education transfer/acquisition process *that further possible anomalies which may be caused by unpredictable environmental, cultural, and social factors can be removed.* Then, the transferred education is up and running, leading to appropriate individual and total system performance.

In the case of home-language instruction programmes, the aforementioned issues imply that if the requirements at initiation phase and analysis phase are mutually fulfilled, the most important outcome, among others, would be:

1. In the selection phase, the final decision on choice of education and determination of need adjustment has been made logically and thoughtfully;
2. The acquirer of education in any instructional programme has brought about a positive concept/attitude toward that certain education/training;
3. Education/training can be implemented and the starting-point may be initiated by:
   - active participation
   - competency-based learning
   - extrinsic/intrinsic motivation
   - positive attitude/conception
4. Transferred education leads to appropriate performance in the sense that the learner:
   - monitors the performance of the system and that of the individual self
   - modifies working conditions leading to maintenance/attrition of certain attitudes
   - performs consciously, upgrades knowledge, skills, and values.

The accumulated data based on the attributes used by the students when they do not wish to continue with their home-language instruction pro-

grammes are given in table 13. These attributes are the direct quotations of teachers' utterances as relevant answers to question 3. Frequency of teacher utterances, as indicated in this table, are our measure of the degree of importance of each attribute.

Table 13. Attributes and their degree of importance according to the frequency of teacher utterances (N=35)

Quoted attributes	Frequency of teacher utterance	Identified category/level
1. I have more important lessons to study	20	Individual process: motivation
2. I do not need it	20	Individual process: attitude
3. It is very difficult	18	Individual process: attitude
4. I do not learn much	18	Individual process: attitude
5. I do not have the time	18	Individual process: motivation
6. I do not know much	18	Individual process: learning process
7. The time is not suitable	16	Teaching: timetable
8. I already know enough	15	Individual process: learning process
9. No comment		

The attributes used indicate that, without exception, *they are all outcome-oriented versus process-oriented answers* revealing education acquirers' behaviour towards and conceptions of their home-language instruction programmes as the result of the synergy effects of macro- and micro dimension factors (see table 4). This finding is theoretically based on the definition of attitude and the components of attitude as follows:

> a. Attitudes are said to be regarded as hypothetical constructs. (Baker (1988:114);
>
> b. Attitude consists of three components which are practically difficult to separate and to identify. They are cognitive, affective and active. In connection with minority language we can argue that *an attitude to a specific minority language may be thought about and be capable of being transmitted by words or other symbols*. On the affective domain part of attitudes, feelings and emotions may be attached to them. Finally, attitudes may lead to action or constitute readiness or background for action. A positive attitude may predispose certain behaviour.

As argued above, based on input-output attitude theory, attitude causes certain behaviours. In this way *attitude is both a causal or input variable as well as an output variable. As related to schooling, attitude (behaviour) is conceived as an outcome of education and is important because it may provide more long lasting effects than achievement in examination.* Knowledge gained in a course, poems recited, grammatical rules learned,

may be forgotten, but what is long lasting is the attitude to a taught or learned subject matter of any kind including home-language and the heritage culture of the ethnic minorities.

These are the backgrounds for our line of reasoning for the interpretation of the emerged findings in subsequent sections as well, especially when we discuss the data gathered on question four related to teachers and when we interpret the findings related to the data accumulated by the essay tests.

The accumulated data, based on the attributes used by students when they choose to continue their home-language instruction programmes at school (question 4) are given in table 14. Data collection procedure, data presentation and the discussion of findings follow the same intention and format as in question 3.

Table 14. *Attributes related to question 4 and their degree of importance according to the frequency of teacher utterances. (N=35)*

Quoted attributes	Frequency of teacher utterances	Identified category/level
1. I want to have contact with my friends/my relatives in my native country	17	Ind. process: motivation
2. It is good to have it as an optional subject	15	Ind. process: reinforcement
3. It is important	12	Ind. process: status
4. It is good to hear and to speak my home language properly at least once a week	6	Ind. process: motivation
5. I need it, if I return back home someday	6	Ind. process: motivation
6. I feel at home in my home-language class	5	Ind. process: attitude
7. I don't want to forget it	4	Ind. process: attitude
8. No comment	8	

The findings, based on our interpretation of the attributes listed in table 14, reveal the intention of those students who choose or wish to participate in home-language programmes.

In relation to the discussion of findings relevant to table 13 and our discussion on question no. 3, we theoretically justify our discussions according to the definition of attitude and the components of attitudes which are cognitive, affective and active. *The findings, based on the data presented in table 14, show that the participants' intention is not to develop their home-language skills and knowledge because:*

a. In the affective domain of attitudes such as feelings and emotions, solely affective reasons have been attached to their selections of certain attributes when revealing their behaviour;
b. From the analysis of our observational data and their related findings (section 7.3.1) and their comparison with the findings so far obtained in this section, we may conclude that:
(i) attributes related to the affective domain of attitudes do not reveal intentions leading to action or constitute a readiness or background for action;
(ii) other variables, if mixed or incorporated with appropriate feelings and emotions, may predispose certain behaviour/attitudes which lead to action or constitute readiness or background for action. The identified variables are:
- *Motivation*, in the sense of to *want to become* or *to continue to be;*
- *Context*, where a minority language is acquired, used and maintained;
- *Reinforcement* in the sense of arranging suitable rewards;
- *Competence* (knowledge function). Knowledge of minority or majority culture and language, social organization, politics and education.

Summary of conclusions

The examination of our informants' replies to the four discussion questions as a whole confirm that: *Teaching level factors have a decisive effect on (intra)individual factors and are in turn greatly affected by social factors and organizational level factors*. This was one of the most important findings which had previously emerged through observations (see section 7.3.1, figure 16). Further findings are summarized as follows:

1. Proper exposure to the language and culture is more important than the length of instruction;
2. Individuals' attitudes to the maintenance of heritage language and culture change both as a function of individual needs and motives as well as a function of social situation;
3. Individuals' characteristics and subsequently their self-concept are greatly affected by the macro-dimension-level, factors so much so that such synergy effects lead the individuals to re-conceptualize their priorities including their choice of education;
4. In the affective domain of attitudes, affective reasons alone do not reveal intentions leading to action or constitute a readiness or background for action.
5. Other variables such as integrated motivation, proper context, competence and reinforcement if, mixed with appropriate feelings and emotions, may predispose certain behaviour/attitudes which lead to action or constitute readiness or background for action. Here, the term *action* means performance.

7.3.4 Data accumulated by interview/questionnaire/essay: Students' perspectives

According to our line of reasoning for the modification both in the structure and the procedure of our interview data accumulation (see sections 7.3.2 and 7.3.2), it was decided to administer the interviews and essay test during the last term of our observation studies, that is the spring of 1992. This was supposed to be the best possible occasion for our subject groups to react based on the long-term effects of different variables on their concept formation process and would thus reveal:

1. The degree of their *polarity or attachment* to some definite values;
2. Their *integration and co-existence* with a variety of values leading to their *comvergent thinking;*
3. Their *conception of realities* as related to heritage language and culture, and
4. How this conception of theirs affects/has affected their home-language linguistic competence and performance in the context of formal education.

As in the case of the effects of the relatively long-term contacts with our subject groups, we came to grips with the fact that if interview questions and the essay test were structured systematically and interrelatedly, the results would be more complementary. Accordingly, it was decided that the interview format would be structured in written form followed by our essay-type question in both Farsi and Swedish. The subject groups were asked to answer the questions and to write the essay in whichever language they could manage best.

As seen in subsequent sections, the written interview format consists of eleven statements. Our subject groups - the same as those in our observation study - were asked to grade the measures in two different ways. The first three statements are ranked according to a five scale measure, that is, 1 to 5. Scale "1" represents "very well" and the scale "5" means "very badly". Our subject groups' opinions are represented based on the number of gradings for each division of the scale. The remaining eight statements are intended to show our subject groups' agreement/disagreement with the statements given. Statements 6, 7, 9, 10 and 11 are followed by a *why* question. The answers are intended to help us achieve a better and deeper understanding of our subject groups' background reasoning.

Since our primary intention was that both the interview and the essay test should be interrelated, the essay question is based on the contents of statements numbers 8, 9, 10 and 11 (see p 190). In the next section, data accumulated by means of interviews (combinations of statements and questions) and the essay question are presented and relevant findings are discussed, and, wherever needed, they are justified accordingly.

Reports and discussions of findings: pupils' perspectives

The reports of findings obtained from the data accumulated by means of interview questions and the essay questions are presented in three distinct parts. *The first part* includes the reports of findings related to question 1, 2 and 3. Questions 1 and 2 are self-rating measures of our respondents' knowledge in their heritage language (L_1) and the Swedish language (L_2). The answer to question no. 3 is a self-estimation or our respondents' perspective of the outcome of home-language instruction programmes in the formal system of education in Sweden.

The second part includes the reports of findings related to questions 4 to 11. In this section, the intention is to explore and then to discuss or to explain the reasons why/why not our subject groups desire to develop their mother-tongue skills and to maintain their heritage cultural identity. *In other words, our main intention here is to discover how the synergy effects of different social and educational factors in a host country (society 2) help individuals maintain, or make them change their attitude towards their heritage language and culture.*

In the third part, our intention is to report and discuss findings emerged from the data accumulated by the essay test in order to document our subject groups' abilities to analyse different situations, to discuss the differences and similarities, and to reveal realities based on their experience.

Our ultimate goal is, through the data accumulated and presented interviews and the essay test, to judge not only the individuals' cultural understanding, but also their conceptions/behaviour toward the home-language instruction programmes and *what else* or *who else* affects their choice of a certain type of education in a society 2, including language and culture.

The rest of this chapter presents the reports and discussions of findings from the analysis of the data obtained by interview and the essay test.

A report and discussion of findings related to statements 1, 2 and 3

Our primary intention has been to accumulate data in a self-rating examination of our respondents' knowledge in both L_1 and L_2on the one hand and of our respondents' perspective on the outcome of their home-language instruction programmes on the other. As such, the results obtained by a five scale measure rating from *1 = very well* to *5 = very badly* revealed the following. The findings are presented in table 15, followed by the relevant discussions and justifications.

Table 15. A representation of findings accumulated by statements 1, 2 and 3: Participants' perspective according to the number of gradings for each measure (N=20)

Statements	No. of gradings for each measure (responses)				
	1	2	3	4	5
1. I can speak my home language	4	9	7	-	-
2. I can speak Swedish	-	8	11	1	1
3. I learn my home language at school	1	2	16	1	-

As the data indicates, the gap between our respondents' expected and achieved results related to home-language instruction programmes is relatively wide. As shown in table 15, seventeen out of twenty participants with an average grade of 3.75 out of five (according to the Swedish grading system) in home language (Farsi) are not so satisfied with the outcome of their instruction.

In order to ensure the reliability of such an interpretation, it was necessary to take further steps. The first step was to check their grade points in Farsi and Swedish 2. The intention was to cross-check our subject groups' self- estimations as related to statements 1 and 2. After a close examination of the grade books, it was found that the grade point average in Farsi - for our respondents during the three years of instruction - was 3.75, and the grade point average in SV2 (Swedish 2) during the same period of time was 2.4. Thus, it was confirmed that our respondents' self-ratings of their linguistic abilities in both L_1 and L_2 were reliable.

The second step was to find out why our respondents were not satisfied with the outcome of their home-language instruction programmes despite the fact that they had achieved relatively good grades in Farsi, possibly the highest grade ever registered in their grade books. The findings by means of an evaluation of the essay questions, the observation notes, and an extended informal conversation with each individual respondent revealed that:

1. Their relatively high grade points in this subject did not necessarily mean that they were satisfied with the outcomes of this specific education because this greatly depended on their previous linguistic abilities and knowledge they had acquired in their native country;
2. They were dissatisfied with the outcomes of their home-language instruction programmes because of:

- *The irrelevancy* of the teaching materials to the needs, interests and the social context where teaching-learning takes place. (See also section 7.3.1)
- *Teacher's low expectations and the unrealistic objectives set*: in the sense that the teacher does not expect the learners to work hard; so his/her low degree of expected results ultimately leads to learners' low level attainment of linguistic skills and most often to linguistic stagnation.

Our further evaluation of the situation based on our respondents' reactions and perspectives - as uttered in interviews and conversations - showed that the *teacher factor*, in this respect, is one among many other factors that lead to their dissatisfaction with the outcome of their home-language instruction programmes. Many other social, organizational, (intra)individual and teaching level factors are a means to this end. Other influential variables identified by our respondents appeared to be the same as those we had previously categorized in section 7.3.1 parts I and II. The most important factors resulting in a negative view of the outcomes of home-language instruction programmes appeared to be:

- Lack of allocated time;
- Lack of applicable teaching materials;
- Lack of teacher competence;
- Unsuitable timetable for home-language instruction;
- The learners' shift in their linguistic priorities,
- The decline in a favourable attitude to home language, due to its low social status, especially when it is a non-European language.
- The learners' low commitment to its use;
- A less favourable attitude to home language - as compared with other subject matter - when planning, financing, and facilitating its teaching-learning processes in and by schools;
- The lack of conviction in learners that the existing circumstances can ensure its transmission;
- The learners' overestimation of their existing linguistic knowledge and skills in their home language, and finally
- Underestimation of the benefits and the values of a true bilingual/bicultural mind in society - specifically in the case of immigrants - by judging the fact out of the heat of ethnicity.

The reports and discussions of findings related to statements 4 to 11

The main purpose of this section is twofold:

a) To explore and then to discuss or explain the reasons underlying our subject groups' desire to maintain their mother-tongue skills and to fully develop/maintain their heritage cultural identity; and

b) To discover how the synergy effects of different social and educational factors in a society 2 help the individuals maintain or make them change their attitudes towards their heritage language and culture.

In order to meet this aim of the study, statements 4 to 11 were structured in such a way that the respondents agree/disagree with the statements given and then, wherever necessary, justify their reactions. In this way, the accumulated data led to the findings presented in table 16. The relevant discussions and justifications are included in the subsequent parts of this section.

Table 16. A representation of findings accumulated by statements 4 to 11: participants' perspectives according to the number of agreements/disagreements. (N=20)

Statements		No. of responses yes	no
4.	I need to study my home language	16	4
5.	I need to study Swedish	20	0
6.	I need to study Swedish more than I need to study my home language	17	3
7.	I need to study my home language as much as I need to study Swedish	4	16
8.	I believe I learn my home language at school	15	5
9.	In Swedish society, I must be able to speak Swedish and know about the Swedish culture	19	1
10.	In Swedish society, I must be able to speak my home language and practice my heritage culture	18	2
11.	In Swedish society, I must be able to speak both Swedish and my heritage language and practice both cultures	20	0

The data collected and presented in table 16, show a relatively large degree of inconsistency between our respondents' perspectives at the discourse level and the practice level. For example, the evaluation of the responses given to statements numbers 4, 5, 9, 10 and 11 - at first glance - indicate that: *the ultimate synergy effects of all the existing different and controversial factors (variables) on our subject groups' concept formation process related to the acquisition and the practice of both Farsi (L1) and Swedish (L2) and their related cultures processed positively and almost to the same extent.* That is to say, our respondents have maintained their interest in developing their heritage language and in practising their heritage culture in the same way that they appreciate developing their Swedish lan-

guage skills making themselves acquainted with all aspects of the Swedish culture and life style to the extent possible.

But the analyses of reasons given by our respondents to justify their assertions and a comparison of the number of responses to different statements, especially statements 6, 7 and 8, with the rest of the statements revealed the fact that: *Controversies - leading to the discovery of truth and ultimately to a reliable finding - appear when individuals are asked to make comparisons and then to identify their priorities. It is in this way that priorities are identified and needs are assessed and monitored according to the existing time and context dimensions and thus truly reveal an individual's conception of realities.* In the rest of this section, our relevant findings for each of the interview items are presented followed by the respondents' justification. Direct quotations of uttered reasons are listed according to the frequency of utterances in order to document our findings wherever necessary.

Reports on respondents' justification and their relevant discussions and interpretations

A. Introduction

Based on the above issues, so far considered, reports on our respondents' justification of the answers given to the statements in table 16 will be presented and categorized according to the general model for data accumulation procedure, i.e., table 3. The relevant findings will then be discussed according to each level and stage, so that we can satisfy the aim of this section of the study.

B. Reports of Justifications (reasons)

Statements 4 and 5 are given with the intention of revealing the learners' identification of their language priorities in society 2. The data in table 16 show that all of the twenty respondents agree that they need to study Swedish while 16 out of 20 agree that they need to study their heritage language versus four participants who have disagreed with statement no. 4. As can be observed, statements 4 and 5 are not followed by any *why questions.* The reason for this is that *we seek the respondents' prompt reaction to the statements in order to obtain a background for our subsequent comparative judgements between what they think they believe (discourse level) and what they do when they face different alternatives (practice level).* The results show that - despite the fact that 1/5 of our respondents (N = 20) disagree with statement 4 - there is still a majority of learners in the programme who say they need to study their home language, while all the participants agree that they need to study Swedish.

When the respondents face the dilemma of *what to choose,* they react interestingly and truthfully, revealing the insiders' perspectives. The rest of this section reports our respondents' justifications (reasons) as *uttered attributes* and *the categorizations of these attributes* so that they can fit in

with table 3. Statements 6 to 11 are structured with the above intention. The related findings and justification are given in separate tables followed by a closer scrutiny.

Statement no. 6 is designed to scrutinize the respondents' justification after they have agreed or disagreed with whether or not they need to study Swedish more than they need to study their heritage language. In this connection, 17 respondents have agreed while only 3 have disagreed with this statement. The most frequently uttered reasons given by respondents agreeing with statement no. 6 are listed in table17.

Table 17. Quoted attributes as respondents' justification of insiders' perspective. (N=17)

Quoted attributes	f	Identified category/level
1. Because I live in Sweden	17	social
2. Because I need Swedish both at school and in the community	17	organizational/social
3. Because the Swedish language is more important than the home language in the community	15	social: status
4. Because all school subjects are in Swedish	17	organizational
5. Because I use Swedish more than my home language	17	social: status
6. I need to improve my Swedish for my further studies	15	social/organizational

The findings indicate that the six most uttered attributes - listed in table 17 - can be categorized as belonging to social and organizational level factors governing our respondents' choice of language in a host country. In a further interpretation, it can be discussed and concluded that:

1. The effects of the social and organizational level factors on our respondents' conception of realities *have shifted their priorities in their choice of language according to a new need assessment procedure in their new environment:*
2. The motive to study languages as a stored potential in these multicultural/ multilingual individuals *is activated by social and organizational factors and transformed into the instrumental motivation where the*

purpose of a second language study is more utilitarian, at least during the first few years of immigration.

3. The analysis of the justifications - the insider's perspective - for statement 6 and their comparisons with the number of positive answers given to statement 4 reveal the implicit reasons why our subject groups become more and more reluctant to improve their home-language knowledge and skills. Two important interpretations can be:
   a) the community's considerable investment in and attention to instruction of the majority language
   b) the community's - society and the educational system - lack of proper investment in, respect for and value given to a minority language despite the fact that all the minority groups have the right to study their home language to the same extent as the majority language.

Statement no. 7 is designed to scrutinize the respondents' perspective on whether- in the existing situation - they need to invest as much time and effort in learning their home language as in Swedish. Four respondents have agreed while sixteen out of twenty participants have disagreed with the statement.

A thorough examination of the underlying meaning of statements number 6 and 7 shows that these two statements cross-check the reliability of the data as well as findings. The findings suggest that our respondents need to invest more time and effort on improving their Swedish rather than improving their heritage language skills.

The most frequently uttered reasons given by our respondents disagreeing/agreeing with statement number 7 are listed in table 18a and 18b. Table 18a presents the reasons relevant to disagreements and table 18b shows the justification of those who agreed with this statement.

Table 18a. Quoted attributes as respondents' justification of insiders perspective: disagreements with statement 7. (N=16)

Quoted attributes	f	Identified category/level
1. I don't need it (my home language) much	5	social (need assessment)
2. Because I will need the Swedish language more in future	16	social: status
3. I know my home-language well enough	12	social

Table 18b. Quoted attributes as respondents' justification of insiders' perspectives; agreements with statement 7. (N=4)

Quoted attributes	f	Identified category/level
1. At any rate, it is a language	4	social
2. Because Swedish is used only in Sweden	2	social: status
3. I need it (my home language) when I speak with my family and friends	4	social
4. My home language is culturally a rich language	4	social
5. I don't want to forget it	4	social

In connection with the data accumulated in tables 18a, 18b, the uttered attributes in both cases can be categorized as social factors. As further interpretations, we have, thus far, both confirmed our previous findings related to statement 6, and may conclude that:

1. Macro-dimension factors - social level factors as examples - have decisive effects not only on:
   a. the effectiveness of the implications of micro dimension factors in practice (see table 3) but
   b. have direct effects on an individual's conception and interpretation of realities in general, and
   c. subsequently leave their imprint on one's choice/selection process and his/her motivation *to be* or *to do*, and ultimately,
   d. to monitor the situations for a more applicable identification of needs or priorities as dictated by these social factors; but
2. they intervene in such a way that even old *accepted values appreciated by minority groups may no longer be manifested in new environments,* due to the effects of such social factors functioning as *reinforcement* or *modelling* agents.

Statement no. 8 reports on the inquiry of insiders' perspectives on the effectiveness of the teaching-learning process of the home-language instruction programmes in the formal system of education. Five respondents have disagreed while fifteen out of twenty have agreed with this statement. The fifteen positive answers were found to be conditional. The respondents-referring to their answers to statement no. 3 - have pointed out that:

> One may learn something at any rate; but not to the extent that we expect or can be compared with what one learns in Swedish or other language classes. We have previously identified the reasons. If we could remove the difficulties, that is if home-language instruction programmes could enjoy the same standards, the results would certainly be more satisfactory and different.
>
> Now we consider our home language classes as an opportunity to practice whatever we have already learned.

Statements numbers 9, 10 and 11 are the key statements. Although the surface structure of these three statements seems to be different, their relevant answers are both complementary and reveal our subject groups' intentions to integrate and to co-exist with a variety of values. Moreover, the data gained in this way intends (a) to justify the insiders' perspectives resulting from a long-term effects of different variables on their concept formation process and (b) to have crossed-checked the validity and the reliability of data gained so far or will be gained subsequently by means of the essay test. The insiders' perspectives and their justification of the answers given are listed in separate tables followed by interpretations and discussions.

The aim of statement No. 9 is to acquire a deep understanding of the respondents' perspectives on whether or not the immigrant individuals in the Swedish community must be able to speak Swedish and know about the Swedish culture. The accumulated data shows that nineteen out of twenty Iranian respondents agree with this statement. The most frequently uttered reasons (justification) by our 19 respondents agreeing with statement No. 9 are listed in table 19.

Table 19. Quoted attributes as respondents' justification of insiders' perspectives; agreements with statement No 9. (N=19)

Quoted attributes	f	Identified category/level
1. One must get oneself acquainted with all aspects of Swedish life	14	social
2. It is an obligation, if we want to co-exist with the Swedish people	19	social
3. A knowledge of the majority culture and language facilitates communication and co-existence	19	social
4. Without such a knowledge, it is difficult to live with them	19	social
5. One must integrate in the community; so we need to know both the language and the culture of this country	19	social

The evaluation and the comparison of the quoted attributes in table 19 with our previous findings in our observation study indicate that the insiders' perspectives are justified according to a new need assessment and that this identification of needs is initiated from the objective realities existing in their new environment. *They no longer think abstractively, but they believe in the concrete problem-solving nature of their learning priorities for their life-long self-contentment, security and probable financial benefits.*

The same line of thinking is also documented by the evaluation of the quoted attributes relevant to statement no. 10 (see table 20) and their comparison with the respondents' line of thinking in table 19.

Statement no. 10 which is designed to find out the respondents' perspectives on whether or not the immigrant youngsters must be able to speak their heritage language and know their native culture in Sweden has led to the reasons (justification) presented in table 20. In this case, eighteen respondents (N=20) have agreed with the fact that: *Knowing one's heritage culture and language is a necessary fact of every immigrant's life.*

Table 20. Quoted attributes as respondents' justification of insiders'-perspectives; agreements with statement No. 10. (N=18)

Quoted attributes	f	Identified category/level
1. We need to communicate with our family members and friends	18	social
2. It is important	15	social
3. We must know our heritage culture and language	17	social
4. I must know where I come from. We are Iranians	5	social
5. I want to go back home one day	4	social
6. Because the Swedes don't associate with us. We must keep together. The only way is to maintain our language and culture	16	social

The evaluation of the above-quoted attributes indicates that our respondents really believe in both the maintenance of their heritage language and culture and their acquisition of the majority language and an awareness of the majority culture. Their justification of statement no. 11 confirms this assertion of theirs (see table 21). In this connection and with no exceptions, our respondents' twenty positive answers indicate that they strongly

believe in *the multidisciplinary aspects of life* in a host country - benefiting from the integration of two or more value systems. Furthermore, we may relate that if our subject groups tend more towards developing their Swedish as a second language in practice, it is more often because of:

a. the effects of some social and organizational factors which give the majority language a higher status than the minority language:
b. the fact that lack of knowledge in the majority language hinders their future success in society, in the same way that their lack of awareness and knowledge of the majority culture is a threat to their belief in integration. *Thus, it causes their detachment from the comprehension of situations and isolation from the community in which they are supposed to live and work.*

This tendency toward the majority language and culture never indicates that their heritage language and culture has lost its importance and application altogether. *The answers to statement no. 11 are, in fact, measures of our respondents' belief in multiculturalism and multilingualism for different purposes in different contexts, that is minority community v.s. majority community.* Our subject groups' perspectives reveal their deep, structured understanding of realities initiated from the synergy effects of all the internal/external factors when controversies arise in the form of the assessments of priorities in the selection phase. Their justification of the insiders' perspective are quoted in table 21.

Table 21. Quoted attributes as respondents' justification of insiders' perspectives; agreements with statement No. 11. (N=20)

Quoted attributes	f	Identified category/level
1. We live in two societies: home and the out-of-home environment. We must know both cultures and be able to speak both languages	18	social
2. We live in Sweden, but we have contacts with our fellow countrymen as well	15	social
3. If we want to stay in Sweden. We must know both languages and cultures	16	social
4. It is wise to use both languages and practice both cultures in the right context and at the right time	20	social

The evaluation of the reasons (justification) shows that all the 20 respondents reacted both positively and understandably to this statement. They have quite clearly identified their needs according to the two controversial environments they live in. Both environments, that is home environment and the majority community require the individual immigrants react to their current value systems. This, in turn, leads to the immigrant individuals' belief in *dualism* in their judgements and interpretations of what happens around them. *Dualism* in itself covers a vast spectrum of meanings, applications and implications. In our view it does not simply mean a minority individual's knowledge of two or more languages and cultures. *Dualism rather than integration makes necessary an individual's ability to think comvergently in the sense of first to consciously integrate the different value systems, and then to interpret the realities accordingly and contextually.* This presupposes the positive outcomes resulting from the integration of a variety of internal and external factors affecting individual's concept formation process. Some of the identified factors are:

- cultural issues;
- family educational backgrounds;
- social and political issues current in society;
- personal and individual environmental factors, and
- the individual's intentions and his integrative motivation. (For more details, please refer to figure 13)

The reports and discussion of findings related to the essay test

A. Introduction

The main purpose of this section has been to accumulate data in order to document our subject groups' ability:

a) to analyse different situations,
b) to justify and to discuss the differences and similarities, and thus
c) to reveal realities based on their experience

The underlying aim in this respect has been twofold:

a) to build a more dependable and relatively strong and firm base for our subsequent reasons and arguments;
b) to have been able to obtain *triangulated reliability* for our data collected by means of observation and interviews *by understanding the phenomena being studied from the actors' perspectives and vice-versa.*

Moreover, according to section 6.4.2, the research instrument intended to be applied to test our research hypothesis (sub question c section 1.2.2) is the essay- *type test*. In this regards, essay tests as individual assessments in an integrated living situation (home-environment vs. out-of-home environment) can best serve to provide answers to our research hypothesis if

we can phenomenologically evaluate, synthesize and analyse our respondents' essays (reactions) according to how they reveal themselves in connection with the following four identified factors:

- The degree of their polarity or attachment to some definite values;
- Their integration and co-existence with a variety of values leading to comvergent thinking;
- Their conception of and ability to interpret realities in relation to minority language and culture contra majority language and culture;
- How this conception of theirs affects/has affected their linguistic competence and performance - in the respective majority and minority languages - in the context of formal education as well as in the community.

The following section presents the reports of findings by essay tests followed by the relevant justification, discussions and interpretations.

B. Reports and discussion of findings

As mentioned in section 7.3.4, it has been intended that both the interview statements and the essay test should be interrelated. Thus, the essay test is based on the contents of statements 8, 9, 10 and 11. The essay topic (question 12), which appeared on the interview sheets, reads:

> *Based on questions 8, 9, 10 and 11, write an essay - either in Swedish or in your home-language - on the factors which most affect:*
>
> *(a) your choice of home-language as a selective subject at school*
> *(b) your choice of culture in practice.*
>
> *Note: In your essay, you must identify and categorize those strengthening or positive factors and those weakening or negative factors. For example, how strong or weak do you rate the contributions of society, home and school (administrators, teachers, teaching materials, time devoted, time-table, home-language teachers' competence etc.).*

It should be noted that the knowledge tested does not depend on any specific material taught but it may be related to, for example, their general knowledge in language and culture both from society one and in society two. The findings obtained by means of the *essay test* not only support our hypothesis-testing phase of the study and in cases complement the results obtained in the observation and interview phase, but also facilitate our judgement on:

- our subject groups' cultural understanding;
- their conceptions/behaviour toward the home-language instruction programmes and,

- *what else* and *who else* affect their choice of a certain education in society 2.

Some of the findings related to the selected factors presented in section A, which are identified by means of the evaluation and the analysis of essay tests are as follows:

1. The data collected pertaining to the four identified factors in the previous section indicated that they must be tackled and treated integratively but not separately. The underlying reasons are:

a) Our respondents' arguments and reasoning concerning these four factors are interrelated; and

b) Our subject groups have justified their answers to each factor based on their justifications relevant to the others.

2. After a comprehensive evaluation of the answers given and the analysis of the series of arguments and reasons applied by our respondents to justify their line of thinking, the following data emerged:

Our subject groups (N=20) do not believe in polarity, but in integration, namely, the benefits of multiculturalism and multilingualism in their true sense. On the other hand, they confirm that their lingual and cultural priorities are governed by many factors, the most important being the *time* and the *geographical* contexts in which one lives. *These two dimensions - as the effects of the social level factors - direct an individual's priorities at the selection level.*

3. In connection with the application of both the minority/immigrant and the majority languages and cultures, all of our respondents (N=20) are positive that one can no longer adhere solely to one definite value system. *They confirm that whatever they do, they are implicitly influenced by the value systems current at home, and the value system they are judged by in their daily lives in the large out-of-home community.*

4. Furthermore, the insiders' perspectives confirm their need for *co-existence* and the fact that *meaningful communication* with others is the most important means to this end. The right and comprehensive mutual communication - as indicated - means the exchange of meaningful words, phrases, sentences and gestures. This, in turn, requires a good knowledge of the majority language and culture on the part of the minority or immigrant individuals and possibly an awareness of the same issues by the majority populations, so much so that the minority/immigrant's cultural practices are not challenged. More details and reasons are given in the discussion below:

7.3.5. Discussion and conclusion

The above findings, presented in condensed form, indicate that our respondents have come to grips with the justification that: *Language is the key to the world and so the world becomes accessible, comprehensible, revealed and meaningful to man.* What seems important to them is not only the different aspects of meaning that derive from linguistic performance, intentions of the speaker, knowledge shared by the speaker and the listener, expectations of participants in a conversation and other matters that relate linguistic utterances to the context in which they occur, but how *meaning* and *understanding* are interrelated. *This means the way in which one interprets a phenomenon and thereby gives it a meaning.*
As we have previously argued in section 4.6.4, the ultimate behaviour expected of the language learners is the ability to listen to a flow of speech with understanding, to produce a flow of speech and then to read and write. Each of these abilities requires a knowledge of four basic subsystems of language, i.e.:

(a) The sound system,
(b) The grammar system,
(c) The lexical system, and
(d) The cultural system.

All these sub-systems are interrelated and come into play when an idea - even a one-word utterance - is to be expressed. The meaning of any utterance is the combination of the sound, grammar, lexical and cultural systems reflected in it.

The essay tests reveal our respondents' understanding of the above issues. They have also learned in practice that culture embodies the human being's way of adjusting to his environment. Moreover, they have sensed that culture like language - one of the components of culture - is a structured system of action or patterned behaviour. But, just as in language, we distinguish between the code - each individual's personal use of the code. So, in relation to the cultural systems, it is important that the bilingual/multilingual individuals be helped to make distinctions between the cultural norms, beliefs or habits of the majority within the community and the individual or group deviations from some of these norms.

This is a necessary procedure in order to maintain the immigrant individual's equilibrium with the ecosystem and it complies with the adaptive perspective of culture. the ecological perspective of culture in which culture is referred to as adaptive systems (Keesing, 1974) implies several broad assumptions. Thus, culture is a system that serves to interrelate a human being to certain ecological settings; including technologies and modes of organization, settlement patterns, modes of social grouping and political organization religious beliefs, practices and so on. *Thus argued, culture - viewed as adaptive systems- changes to maintain the equilibrium*

with ecosystem. The cultural system undergoes change when balances are upset by environmental, demographic, technical or other systemic changes.

Meanwhile - as indicated by our respondents- equilibrium for immigrant youngsters or children is best maintained if it is in accordance with the *integrative ecosystem* in which they live, that is, the home environment and the large out-of-home environment.

The discussion so far, leads to the emphasis on this integrative ecosystem being necessary for an immigrant to master both the majority language and culture as well as to maintain and to develop those of his home on an additive basis. *To summarise, a true bilingual/bicultural individual is one who maintains his equilibrium with his ecosystem based on a relatively acceptable amount of cultural insights from both systems.* This integrated value system (see section 4.6.2) is what we have called *alternative culture* or *mini-culture* meaning: *the minimum cultural-understanding requirements for two parties to understand one another.* From an observation point of view, the elements of any alternative culture, like any culture, can be classified into two groups: (i) observable elements that constitute *surface culture* and (ii) hidden elements called *deep culture. The surface culture* includes easily observable elements such as customs, dressing, eating, technology, arts, behaviour, etc. *The deep culture* includes elements that are not easily observable such as values, belief system of thinking etc.; but the manifestation of these elements can be observed in surface culture.

In fact, the necessity of the emergence of alternative culture can be well rationalized as (a) the results of the synergy effects of the social level factors (see figure 1 and table 3) and (b) the nature of the ecological perspective of culture in which culture is referred to as an adaptive system (see section 4.6). *The former calls for new potentials for adjustments and the latter justifies why such adjustments should be made.*

Argued in this way, the alternative culture emerges from the biculturalists' perception of the surrounding environment, first in the form of a communicative culture and then growing and taking in changes for the immigrant's survival in the majority culture. *Alternative culture or miniculture consists of some selected intercultural elements both from the adoptive culture of an individual's new environment and his home culture.* These elements are rooted in both cultural systems but not necessarily the same. It is in this way that the immigrant individual can maintain his equilibrium with his environment.

This approach has been shown to be of great importance to school children both as a *social problem-solving strategy* as well as *learning and performance problem-solving methods.* Our three years of subsequent observations of immigrant children and youngsters' situations, at different schools in a variety of towns and cities in Sweden, can bear witness to the fact that a well-guided and monitored emerged alternative culture - best if home and schools are involved- can facilitate for an immigrant learner:

(a) Interrelating himself to his new teaching - learning context; and
(b) Maintain his equilibrium with his new ecosystem by:

* understanding others, including the thought pattern of majority populations better and interpreting them understandably;
* having the majority population's support, sympathy and help to facilitate his integration process
* thinking comvergently;
* adapting a natural life style accepted both by home members and members of the majority population, and thus being more easily accepted by both;
* avoiding misunderstandings which may lead to hostilities or other minor or severe social problems;
* developing a sense of participation in social activities, and the most important of all;
* developing a sense of positive generalization, multiple affiliation and a firmer personality in the society.

The results of the study showed that if the process is otherwise, different argumentations and reasoning based on either one culture or special attachments initiated from the heat of ethnicity may lead to misunderstandings and misinterpretations which, in the long-term, may lead to between-groups hostility on one hand and states of confusion and unstable equilibrium on the other.

The common belief among our respondents was the fact that although they confirmed the advantages of true bilingualism and biculturalism for an immigrant in order to maintain his equilibrium with his ecosystem, as we have discussed above, *immigrant children can hardly achieve this stage under the existing circumstances*. Due to the strong and immediate influential effects of the macro-dimension-level factors: social and instructional organizational level factors, *immigrant children are forced to tend promptly to the majority language acquisition.*

Since the overall goals of language study are effective communications and cultural understanding, second-language (L_2) teachers specify their goals based on their experience and professional knowledge. Such goal specifications, apart from teaching *content words* and some *language universal rules* neither correspond to their learners' previous cultural experience nor address their needs for the right access to the culture of the existing context of instruction. For example, for a student with a background of some years of schooling in a Middle-Eastern country, it is relatively easier to learn the phonology, grammar and the vocabulary of a second language than acquiring the appropriate cultural knowledge and insights of the people who speak it (the majority language) in order to interrelate linguistic and cultural subsystems. Interrelationships of linguistic and cultural subsystems are diagrammed in figure 17 below:

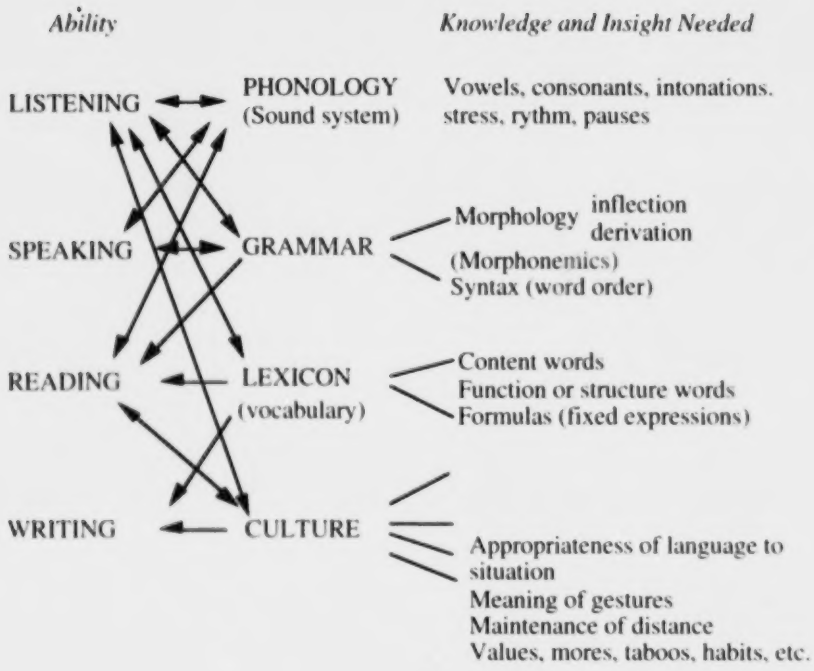


Figure 17. Interrelationships of linguistic and cultural subsystems

This figure, shows how the sound system, the grammar system, the lexical system and the cultural system are interrelated to each other in listening, speaking, reading and writing on the one hand and why the meaning of any utterance is the combination of these four systems reflected in it on the other. Lack of awareness of the functions of the interrelationships of linguistic and cultural sub-systems in teaching the majority language as a second language to an immigrant child- which is not based on an additive basis- disturbs the necessary balance between the linguistic and cultural knowledge and skills which are expected to develop in a true bilingual biculturalist.

The study so far has indicated that if this is the case, the subtractive nature of teaching-learning a second language in a host country results in the following findings.

1. Selection of language and culture in practice:

The immigrant child tends more to acquire the majority language and is less motivated to learn his heritage language and to develop his home culture because:

* he finds out that the world: *new knowledge, skills, experiences and new concepts* are revealed to him through the majority language;
* his heritage language and culture no longer have the *power of communication problem-solving* as before. Their applications (usage) are confined to the home environment and perhaps the minority communities

2. The need for a communicative culture:

The immigrant child gets involved in social problems where his parents are unable to help him. Solving such problems requires new potentials, skills, knowledge and techniques as means of communication (a new communicative culture) which parents for the most part are not aware of. The reason as our subjects mention is *their parents' lack of empathy because they lack personal experience as adolescents of the culture their children grow up in.* Such children or youngsters feel they are left alone to solve their problems by means of communication other than those recommended by their parents. They soon feel the need for new *norms* and *measures* for the adaptation to a new life style, a new frame for their thinking pattern, behaviour, manner, etc. or

when in Rome do as the Romans do.

3. New perceptions of the environment - New conceptions of realities

The immigrant child's new perceptions of the new environment give way to his new conceptions of realities and eventually to the emergence of a new communicative culture, *the cultural elements of which consist mostly of the explicit adoptive culture of the environment and the implicit elements from their home culture.* If this is the case, our observation and interview studies have shown that there is the danger of the young immigrant:

* being reluctant to use his home language in public, and so (i) he *dissociates* himself from his immigrant minority group community, or otherwise (ii) he communicates with them in the majority language.
* being isolated from the rest of his minority immigrant community. It has been observed that gradually, *during the course of one or two years, the children or young individuals dissociated from their community lose their fluency and, in some cases, their ability to speak their mother tongue properly.* Before long, they drop out of home-language instruction programmes.
* distancing himself from a common interest and attachment. Such dissociated individuals *become more and more distant from a common interest and a sense of attachment to some common culture* with the population of their age groups from their native country which leads to their relatively total isolations.

Thus, the cumulative sum of the effects of the social-level factors and those of the instructional organizational factors of the majority community on such a dissociated child from his home language and culture become greater than the total effects he gets from his home environment factors. The justifications can to a great extent depend on the functions/effects of the three dimensions of the socio-cultural systems on the concept formation process of individuals (see section 2.5.1 and figure 2). With respect to the contents of this section and the fact that our subject groups are made of young Iranians, the results from our observation and interview studies clearly visualized that as soon as these young people begin to enter into the mainstream life in the host country, *two of the three dimensions of their home socio-cultural system, namely, the belief system and the national or local culture, begin to weaken and collapse.* What remains in effect is the culture in contact or the adopted culture from their new environment or ecosystem. The reasons identified are many. The most important, as indicated by our respondents, are:

* lack of contact with their religious practices and teachings in the same way as before;
* In some cases, the removal of the obligations and emotional attachment to its practices based on the idealistic philosophy current in their native country;
* being instructed in a more open and non-traditional teaching-learning system, where religion as a subject matter is taught comparatively, realistically leaving options for arguments and selections;
* the realization that their local culture consisting of valid values, traditions and customs from ancient times can only partially be manifested in their surface culture.

The synergy effects of such factors, of course, tend to favour the emergence of an alternative or miniculture, the consisting elements of which come more from the adoptive culture of the environment and less from the home culture.

One important point needs more clarification. Practically a majority of the dissociate young people as related above, more often than not, do not get the opportunity of becoming acquainted with or assimilate the deep culture of the majority community in a host country. They suffice only in the market place culture or vulgar culture which is not without its disadvantages or dangers for young immigrants.

The dangerous and devastating impact of such a superficial culture which is empty of the recognition and the assimilation of the elements of the deep value systems of the majority community, while accompanied by the partial or total attrition of one's own home culture, has been observed in difficult or quarrelsome children and youngsters with the following manifestations:

1. *Unbalanced personality* and an unspecified identity: rootlessness;
2. *Lack of attachment* to any accepted value system, and eventually lack of any ethical principles believed to be accepted by others;
3. *Hostile behaviour* and aggressive or defensive attitude towards others;
4. *Interest in individual activities;*
5. *Dropping out from school,* and prior to this, dropping out from home-language instruction programmes;
6. Avoiding *getting involved in either serious activities or group activities* except for sports and other physical training (becoming tough and for self-defence);
7. *Lacking a sense of ownership,* in the sense that such people specify the surrounding environment and the existing property in them as *theirs* but not *ours* or *the public property.* They feel no responsibility for their preservation or maintenance;
8. *Strong egoistic attitudes* in the sense that they feel no sense of common interest with others. It is I and my wishes which are important to be fulfilled independent of whatever damage is caused to others;
9. *Dissociation* both from the majority and their own immigrant community;
10. Association with immigrant children or youngsters from other ethnic groups or occasionally with a few selected individuals from their native country who have processed/developed the same qualities to form a common culture or, as it is frequently heard, they say: "*Those with whom we can fly.*";
11. Lack *of a sense of co-operation* with out-of-clan members, but sympathetic to the problems of the clan.

Further considerations of the social and family status of such individuals indicated that they had at least one of the following disadvantages or problems in common:

1. They had come to Sweden at an early age (between 8-12) without their parents. This age factor means that such newcomer immigrants had neither mastered their home language nor had they acquired the deep structure implications of their home culture. Meanwhile, they found themselves in a new ecosystem, the language and culture of which was not only different but incomparable with what linguistic and cultural experiences they had acquired before. In addition, it had taken them months or years to learn the new language. This transition period was described by five such people as *hell* or, as we noted, a *period which had helped these young people to remain socially alienated and to continually challenge the concepts and practices of democratization.*

2. They had lived in community homes with other immigrant children of the same age.
3. Their parents divorced shortly after their arrival in Sweden. Consequently, such children were obliged to live with either a father or a mother who lived or had been married to a non-Iranian.
4. They lived with a brother or a close relative who had come to Sweden long before. *Most often, they were examples for the newcomers.*

In our further search to find out what other groups/group drop out of home- language instruction programmes, we arranged informal interviews with five school counsellors. We found another group of dissociated Iranian immigrant youngsters who had lived with Swedish families since their arrival in Sweden. In contrast to the first group of dissociates, this second group were dissociated only from the Iranian immigrant community. They could be characterized as individuals:

1. Who were not motivated to develop their heritage language and culture;
2. Who neither dropped out of home language instruction programmes nor took them seriously. They *had reached an acceptable standard in Swedish;*
3. Who were observed to possess a stronger and more stable, positive sense of adaptation to the Swedish life style. This was found to be due to the consistency between the practical aspects of home factors and those of the social and instructional level factors. In contrast to the first group of dissociates, the emergence of the alternative culture for them meant a more all-sided application of the comprehensive elements of both the surface and deep culture of their adoptive culture to their environment (Sweden).
4. Who are emotionally unstable, and depressed by the dilemma of identity and personality.

For the simplicity of our subsequent references to different categories as those above, it is essential to introduce some new concepts as follows:

1. The first group of dissociates will be referred to as *total dissociates* or the contrapoise. The concept *contrapoise*, as we have defined it means: *those difficult or quarrelsome children who cannot maintain their equilibrium with their existing ecosystem or do not show balanced social behaviour due to the synergy effects of both macro and micro -dimension level factors.* They lack both the positive effects of home value systems and those of the host country. They have processed a specific communicative culture. (Rinkeby culture and language can be given as a partial example).

2. The second group of dissociates will be referred to as *partial dissociates* or the *unipoise*. This concept, according to our definition *includes those individuals whose emerged mini-culture is consistent with the adoptive culture from the environment (host country)*. They are emotionally unstable, depressed by the dilemma of identity and personality due to the lack of the effects of their home culture.

3. There appeared to be a third category of Iranian young immigrants whom we will refer to as *equipoise*. In addition to the above two groups, the emergence of the alternative culture for them means *a counterbalance between the elements of their home culture and the adopted culture*. They have a relatively stronger background to help them maintain their equilibrium with their dual ecosystem, because:

(a) From the first day of their immigration, they have been accompanied by their parents. They have a comparatively more secure family life.

(b) They are committed both to learning, using and developing their heritage language as well as the majority language for the following reasons:

(i) They get support and help from the family for the use and maintenance of their heritage language, and for their commitment to the practical aspects of their home culture; (ii) being and living with the family means being associated with one's own immigrant minority group more often compared with the contrapoise and unipoise group members. This, in turn, provides the necessary conditions for the equipoise to adapt and interrelate themselves to their intergroup environments.(iii) On the other hand, in their social relations, at school and in the out-of home society, the equipoise have learned that they must be committed to the use of both the majority language and at least a minimum cultural understanding in order to be able to interrelate themselves to their out-of-home environment

(c) Further considerations of the social, family and school status of such individuals indicated that the equipoise children compared with the other two groups:

(i) Are emotionally more stable; less often depressed and are normally specified as people with expressed identity and strong personality.

(ii) Are more committed to school rules and regulations with very little or no dropping out.

(iii) Take part in home-language instruction programmes despite the instructional organizational problems discussed and categorized in the earlier parts of this chapter.

(iv) Have a strong interest in bridging home and out-of-home cultures. They act as *cultural pins*: taking the elements of the majority culture into the home.

It should be noted that what we have specified in the case of the equipoise is based on observations of our twenty subject groups in addition to the data obtained from informal conversations held with teachers, administrators, school counsellors, parents and the official reports on such people.

Despite the above-mentioned most articulated attributes which coincide with the characteristics of the equipoise, we must admit that our insiders' perspectives specify that: (1) there are other factors which leave their imprint on an individual's perception of his surrounding environment. Two of the most important factors are *home factors* and *school factors* as the representatives of social level factors; (2) this perception imposes certain conceptions of realities on the mind of an immigrant student/child; and (3) *the synergy effects of such imprints, besides other influences, lead to the individual's reaction in the form of motivation to integrate with or isolate himself from one environment or another, and ultimately leads to his unique communicative or alternative culture.*

A. Home factors: The results of the study showed that in families where parents are less educated, their children's tendencies to the majority culture in practice cause confusion in their relations and feeling of embarrassment. Such parents, unaware of the necessity of cultural changes to enable their children to maintain their equilibrium with the new ecosystem, simply think that they can no longer be proud of such children. Thus, they begin to impose restrictions on them. The first and the most common restriction imposed by parents, with usually between 9 and 12 years of education, is to forbid or rather to restrict their children's association with their majority-group friends. The results as specified by our findings were:

* Relatively partial isolation from the majority community; less practice in the majority language in the context it is used;
* More association with one's own inter-community group members; and
* Latent emergence into the mainstream majority cultural understanding.

As a result, the imprint of the home environment on such an individual requires him to include, initially, more of the elements of his home culture and less of the majority's in his communicative culture. But in long term, it was observed that in practice, as a natural reaction, the immigrant child or youngster, based on modelling effects and/or assessment of priorities, breaks the bounds of restrictions. Soon after, the surface elements as well as some deep structure elements of the majority culture begin to become explicit in his emerged surface culture. This period of time was found to be marked by:(a) an immigrant child's tendencies to enter into the mainstream life system of the society in which he lives and (b) attrition (weakening) or

maintenance (strengthening) of his ties with his home and his home culture depending on whether or not his parents are well aware of this process of change in their child and try to support and sympathize with him.

It was also found that if parents were supportive and sympathetic to their children's development/changes, they were not only more positive to the maintenance and the practice of their heritage culture and language, but integrated into the society more easily. They were thus able to maintain their relative equilibrium with their ecosystem. In the opposite case, uneducated parents, unaware of the need for such changes, hindered their children's process of integration and gave them a sense of conservatism and perhaps scepticism about the social realities which undoubtedly affected their integration process in the new environment.

B. School factors: as the products of the majority social and educational level factors

The accumulative data obtained from essay tests indicated that the insiders' perspectives specify the effects of school factors as being not only as important as home factors on the process of the emergence of a monitored and well- guided communicative culture, but even more important with regards to the perception of the environment and the immigrant students' conceptions of realities in the host country. It was observed by the study, as well as specified by our respondents, that when, for example, the school looks upon an immigrant student as an alienated individual who is a threat to the uniformity of school education, but not as a student among the majority, the following attitude and behaviour changes occur:

1. The immigrant student becomes isolated from the school environment, and subsequently dissociates from the majority community;
2. He tends to associate more with his fellow countrymen, and be committed more to the practice of his heritage culture and language; a good example is the results from the Göteborg research on Turks, in 1992 (Eyrumlu, 1992).
3. The imprints of the elements of the majority culture, predominantly deep culture, become less important in the emergence of immigrants' communicative culture than the elements of his home culture.

But, meanwhile, the insiders' perspectives as well as those of the parents, counsellors, teachers and administrators confirmed the fact that *perpetual collaboration between home and school on an additive basis in needed to monitor and to help the immigrant child to be able:*

1. To analyse different situations;
2. To justify the differences and similarities. (*)
3. To increase his ability to maintain his equilibrium with his ecosystem.

This is the ideal goal to be achieved in order to help an immigrant child to process his conception of integration, socialization and education positively in a host country, and so to fulfil his obligation to achieve and to maintain his balance with the new ecosystem.

Practically speaking, this has proved to be a very controversial goal which is hard to fully achieve. Firstly, it is due to the different conceptions the involved parties have on immigration issues and the concept *immigrants*. The immigrant communities, without exception, strongly disapprove of the process of *assimilation* as an implicit policy of many host countries hidden behind their explicit immigrant and minority policies under the name *integration*. At the same time, the immigrant communities lack both the knowledge and the experience of the fact that their participation in school decisions as well as in different social decision-making activities prerequisites of their co-operation with school.

In this way (a) they may influence, soften, or diminish the effects of the assimilative tendencies both in the majority communities and schools as subordinates to them, at least for the present generation of young immigrants who are desperately in need of their self-concept and a sense of self-confidence; (b) they can help their children to keep their language and culture alive by employing effective reproduction strategies. Secondly, it can be attributed to an all-round communication problem among all parties involved that hinders the conviction that co-operation between immigrant home and the majority school is not necessary and productive.

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* This means that from a psychometric point of view such an individual is able to think comvergently and interprets the social realities out of such an experience of his. This means (i) he/she has developed his/her personality and identity as a person who recognizes situations consciously and is able to cope with his dual life system and different value systems; (ii) has decreased his/her sense of insecurity and has increased his self-confidence and his/her self-concept.

Chapter 8

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

8.1 **Introduction**: A general overview

In this study, a relatively heavy emphasis was primarily placed on the understanding of the synergy effects of the socio-cultural forces and those of the structure of education on (a) an immigrant bicultural bilingualist's conception and his interpretation realities (perception of the environment and self conception) and (b) on his linguistic competence as an integral means of hindering or as agents of promoting and facilitating linguistic and cultural performances in a two-way direction; that is both on one another and on the outcome of bilingual education in general.

The general purpose of the study (section 1.2.2) was: first, to address both the manner and the description of minority language/immigrant students' behaviour and the characteristics of educational programme; and second, to explore deeper (phenomenologically) the reasons causing these characteristics and behaviours based on insiders' perspectives. This necessitated research on bilingual education and the evaluation of bilingual programmes to deal with the issues multidisciplinarily, multidimensionally and qualitatively and that the relevant conclusions be strongly supported by a comprehensive survey of literature (theory) and multistage empirical scrutiny (empiri).

It is worthwhile pointing out that any research, as its first intention, may seek the answers to very limited numbers of questions, but due to the additive/creative nature of research studies, massive findings other than those the study has intended to obtain are often collected. This study, contains some findings and conclusions that were not the primary intention of the study. One such finding in our study was the emergence of the concept mini-culture which was primarily argued to have developed as a communicative culture. It was observed that if over time the deep and surface elements of this mini-culture had found long-lasting manifestations in the individuals' behaviour and attitudes, they could be used as identifying measures for immigrants to be categorized according to their group affiliations.

This chapter summarises the major findings presented in successive chapters of the study which are both answers to our research problems and relevant to the purpose of the study. This chapter is organized first to summarise the findings with regard to the details of section 6.4, that is, the operationalization of our selected conceptual integrated bilingual education transfer and acquisition model (figure 12) and its subdivisions. This will be

followed by relevant conclusions, discussions and recommendations for practitioners.

8.2 Major theoretical and empirical findings

8.2.1 Major findings from literature survey: Summary and conclusions

In chapters two, three and four, three wide spectrums of literature, which contributed to the study, were reviewed: In chapter two, the major issues reviewed were a combination of a historical overview of the concepts and practices of bilingualism and bilingual education in the Middle Eastern countries as well as the recent theoretical and empirical findings in the West. Chapter three covered the major issues in bilingualism and bilingual education specially where bilingualism and the advantages of being bilinguals were tackled from the point of views of intelligence, cognition, attitude and motivation. Chapter four advocated the outline of theories of learning, theoretical models and conceptual frameworks. The main purpose of these three chapters was twofold: (a) *to select a framework which could explain the interdependency of the individual student's conception and the outcomes of bilingual education on he one hand and,* (b) *the effects of the structure of education on heritage-language skills maintenance and cultural identity of the immigrant student on the other.*

The main function running through the study was: How and *Why* the individual's conception of bilingual/bicultural education, as a strong factor, influences the success and the failure of such programmes, and possibly to investigate *who else or what else* facilitates or hinders the process of learning the heritage language and the practice of native culture as well as their degree of significance.

By way of the historical approach to the study of language and the concept *bilingualism* in the Middle East and the Western countries, it was found that the conception of language and bilingualism held by people from the Middle East in general and Iranians in particular is processed positively on the basis of the influence of their sociocultural system. The content of the literature survey of the judgements and experiences of the North American and the European nations revealed their explicit as well as implicit intentions and their expected outcomes in connection with their bilingual or minority language programmes. *In this way, a double attempt was made both to address the manner and the description of Iranian students' behaviour and a deeper explanation of the reasons underlying these characteristics and behaviours as well as the characteristics of the minority language programmes in Western countries.*

The results emerging from the three contexts, in chapter two, showed both similarities and dissimilarities. The common areas of agreement were: The importance of a knowledge of L_1 for minority/immigrant children; a

sociocultural system as a determinant for a child's conception; rejection of compulsion in (L_1-L_2) acquisition and the confirmation of interest, necessity, and parental commitment, and being active bilingual following the law of action and reaction. The most controversial was the concept of *the role of the individual*. In the Middle Eastern countries, the role of the individual in reality is of authentic in character and much larger than the role expected of the individuals in the West. *In the Middle East and Iran, the minority individual and his community have the responsibility for the production and the reproduction of the minority language and culture*. In the West, except in Canada, the individual's role is reduced to their co-operation with the formal education system where, in many cases, the intentions of these two poles (wills) do not coincide. In the Middle East, the dilemma of majority and minority, at least explicitly, are not issues for educational debates and differences. It was also found that neither applicable curricula, content for instruction, exists nor are the process and the outcomes of L_1 instruction programmes of the ethnic minority/ immigrant pupils in nearly all European countries including Sweden subjected to any effective control.

The results emerging from chapter three facilitated our understanding of what factors influence the language performance of bilinguals in a non-linguistic approach. It was found that intelligence, cognition, attitude and motivation, all as crucial factors, contributed to our understanding of the relationships between these factors and bilingualism in the sense of enabling us to answer *why* and *under what circumstances* a person may wish to remain bilingual, retain or reject a language in favour of another. A combination of background variables and context variables: inner context variables and outer context variables were found to be interlocked and interrelated.

It was also argued that where bilingualism is served well, it is when the bilinguals' needs are identified. One of their greatest needs - based on our definition of a *bilingual*, from linguistic and non-linguistic standpoints, for the categorization of who is or who is not bilingual - *is the pupil's ability to produce complete and meaningful utterances both in L_1 and L_2*. It is thus assumed that a pupil's competency in L_1, and how it is facilitated, has to be included in the process of bilingual instruction programmes. *A bilingual's correct behaviour toward languages influences his performance but performance itself is secondary to language competency*.

Chapter four dealt with various overlapping theories, which had previously been implicitly stated, from the areas studied in chapters two and three: language and thought theories, language and bilingual education models; structure of education theories; theories of culture; language learning theories and applications.

From the review of language and thought theories and language and bilingual education models, it was found that controversies both in research language, process and findings are substantial. It was demonstrated

that research on bilingual education has been concerned with the investigations of the factors that influence a bilingual child's performance rather than the development of his competence as a prerequisite of performance. The student's conception and the interpretation of reality from the point of view of his experience was argued to be crucial, influencing his decision-making process in general and his selection of the type of educational and instructional programme. It was demonstrated that no research has directly involved itself in what the child in minority-language programmes thinks about what adults have planned for him. It was so argued that research on bilingualism in the European countries has most often dealt *with bilingualism's why* and less with *bilingualism's how from linguistic competence point of view*.

Education, as related to development, can be viewed from two different perspectives. They are labelled *delivery* and *receiving* perspectives. Intentional and incidental learning are criteria that concern the learner's awareness of the learning that takes place. As such, based on the delivery perspective of education, two types of variables were identified. They were: (a) *internal variables* such as learning process, timing, staff, attendance, reward and the like,(b) external variables: such as organization, objectives, resources and control. It was emphatically argued that the education of minority-language ethnic groups/immigrant children must involve building a *learning network* to cater to the *lifelong needs* of individuals. It was assumed that competence in L_1 and L_2 are two of such needs.

Culture is a manifold and subtle concept. There is neither a generally accepted definition nor a method for its direct measurement. It was discussed that in the Middle Eastern countries - as no exception to the general acceptance - the sociocultural system is established as a system consisting of valid values, traditions, customs from ancient times (local culture), a religion/belief system, and those elements adopted from other cultures (adopted cultures). It was further explained why the belief system has a tremendous influence over all aspects of people's lives in the Middle East. It was concluded that the study of the concept bilingualism and bilingualism in society from a sociocultural point of view should be given priority. *The reason is that individuals and their behaviour are largely a product of their culture and the surrounding society within which they function.*

From the review of the three clusters of learning theories: behaviouristic, cognitive development and humanistic psychology for education, it was argued that humanistic psychology theories of learning could find real applications for bilingual education at levels of motivation, goals, curriculum objectives, meaningful learning and active participation.

Humanists' description of *behaviour* according to the *behaver* rather than observer calls for our concern that the individual's feelings, perceptions, beliefs and purposes - *the inner behaviours* (Dembo 1977) that make people different from one another- are crucial elements in the students' choice of education and may influence the success and/or failure of instructional programmes. Based on the notion of divergent thinking as a

characteristic of a bilingual, it was argued that linguistic competence can provide a strong base for linguistic performance.

To sum up, despite the multilingualism in the language of bilingual education research, there were central points of agreement between bilingual educators and educators in other disciplines which could contribute to this study. One important finding was that *where bilingual educators have managed only to tackle a problem at the surface, researchers in other disciplines may have worked it out more profoundly*. This is a reason why any study on bilingualism with whatever effects in mind, must have a multidisciplinary starting point.

From the analysis of the literature survey, that is, chapters two, three and four, it was confirmed that not only the learner's conception of or behaviour towards language and bilingualism should be included in any study of bilingual education, but *ethos* (proper context) is another crucial component to be concerned with. The assumption being, these two components help the process and maintain the positive attitude of the pupil towards both L1 and L2 as well as towards the minority-language instructional programmes as a whole. Furthermore, linguistic competence in the first and second language should be viewed as an intervening variable mediating the effects of the school achievement. So any model accepted for this study must be built around these three variables.

Design and the general model for data collection and presentation

We argued in section 6.5 that our approach to data collection was qualitative in nature and synthesizing was a characteristic of this approach. This was claimed to be our approach both for the theoretical and the empirical parts of the study. In this respect, the impact of a comprehensive literature survey on the rest of the study proved to be enlightening.

The evaluation and the analysis of the theoretical findings revealed the important contributions of the survey to the identification of new areas for research and the crucial variables to be considered for the elimination of the shortcomings so far argued to have been noticed in bilingual education models, the research process and methodology. Most valuable were the contributions of the findings and conclusions from chapters three and four in two areas: (a) the design for the empirical study and (b) the identification of what crucial factors must be specified for the data collection procedure and the model for the accumulation and the presentation of data.

In chapter three, the four clusters of literature on bilingualism which contributed most to the study were: intelligence, cognitive, attitude, and motivation viewpoints. The obtained results highlighted: (a) our understanding that psychological dimensions of the study of bilingualism could or might contribute to the conceptualization of a framework for the study; and (b) our conviction that only true (active) bilinguals are in some products and process superior to monolinguals.

In chapter four, a comparison of the implications of three clusters of learning theories for education prevailed that: (a) humanistic psychology theories of learning could find real applications in both the design and the execution of any educational transactions intended for immigrant bicultural bilingualists at levels of motivation, goals, curricular objectives, meaningful learning (learning process) and active participation (experience requires action), and (b) humanists' description of behaviour according to *behaver* rather than *observer* called for our concerns that individual feelings, perceptions, belief and purposes - the inner behaviours that make people different from one another - are crucial elements and should be both understood and implemented in the process of empirical data collection. The evaluative conclusions drawn from these two chapters were both informative and constructive. Informative in the sense that we were able to acquire a more comprehensive understanding of what social, psychological, pedagogical, linguistic and cultural factors influence an immigrant or minority-language student's process of *choice* in general, both in home context and in the context of a host country as identified by different educators. These pieces of information were later discovered to coincide with the intentions of our research sub-question "b" (section 1.2.2) and could also be used for subsequent comparisons made with similar findings in the empirical section.

The findings, collected theoretically, also increased our knowledge of and our understanding for the important role of individuals in their process of choice of language and culture, that is, when they shift to the dominant, mix with others and/or what needs motivate them to maintain or attire their heritage language and culture. This was found to coincide with the purpose described for sub-question "d" of the study. The literature survey was constructive in the sense that the key issues in different clusters provided the study with adequate theoretical background data of the components which explained the interdependency of individuals' conceptions of instructional programmes and the programmes' success and failure. In this respect, it was found that: first, *culture* or, to be more specific, *sociocultural systems* were the most applicable issues to be selected as a point of departure; second, the two types of variables identified for the delivery perspective of education (section 4.5.4) could best serve as the components of the model for the accumulation and presentation of empirical data (see table 3); and third, to indicate the degree of interdependency between one dimension and the other in relation to the imposition of the effects of the components of each dimension on the components of the other.

8.2.2 The Conceptual model and its consequences for the selection of subjects and the construction of the instruments: A summary of the process for the selections, adjustments and justification. Methods, design, subjects

The framework selected for the understanding of the individual's conception of bilingualism (chapter five), with reference to his heritage language in a sociocultural context, was built upon the conclusions drawn from the theoretical ideas, empirical studies and the assumptions discussed in the previous chapters. It represented a further means of analysing bilingual education process, selection, and practice in a sociocultural perspective and on the basis of the individual student's experience. In the preceding chapters, social as well as psychological, pedagogical, educational, and cultural views in connection with bilingual education and bilingualism were considered. It was argued that neither the individual's conception/behaviour, the institutional context nor the linguistic competence and linguistic performance had been researched from cultural reality perspective and as components which were closely interdependent.

In the review of bilingual education models and conceptual frameworks, they were found to be insufficient since they neither covered the components of sociocultural systems in detail nor had they included the individual student as an important party in their process of education. This argument led us to develop a conceptual model to cover the above needs for a cohesive approach and the alleviation of most of the aforementioned problems associated with sub-optimal education transfer versus education acquisition, a generic and integrated model, herewith was proposed (figure 11).

In practice, we understood both the advantages and disadvantages of the application of the model. Advantages, in the sense that the model was flexible. It could be applied to a variety of educational activities such as educational evaluation, bilingual education and the teaching of both L_1 and L_2 with general and specific implications but with different actors. Disadvantages, as regards the number of variables to be included as well as the quantitative imposition of the limitations for such studies. Subsequently, it was argued that the figure 11 had either to be modified, divided into different parts or translated and simplified according to our needs for the empirical study. The best solution was argued to be the process of translation modification with the intention of not eliminating any of the factors of the general interaction model. Instead, the model magnified those crucial objectives formulated in the purpose of the study and transformed the variables schematically in a concise, comprehensible manner which proved to be an adequate conceptual and analytical tool for understanding the effects of sociocultural *characteristics* of immigrant bicultural bilingualists on their:

* Macrocosmic perceptions; which refer to an individual's perception of the large world including his perceptions of others, and of the surrounding environment as well as his emerged conceptions and interpretations of realities, and his universal problem-solving abilities.

* Microcosmic perceptions; which refer to an individual's perception of self; including his personality and identity, self- concept and self-contentment.

The improved socio-cultural influences on immigrants'/minorities' macro and/or micro-cosmic perceptions of the *universe* and those of *self* are given in figure 18 given below.

The operationalization of the model (chapter 6) was found to be one of the greatest dilemmas. It was argued that neither the individual's conception behaviour, the institutional context nor the linguistic competence and performance had previously been researched from a cultural reality point of view and as components which were closely interrelated. In order to be able to collect insight information when dealing with qualitative concepts such as *conceptions* and *culture*, it was rationalized that observation surveys and the two qualitative research approaches, namely, interview and essay tests could be applied as the tools of our qualitative data collection procedure.

Sample selection and sample size were determined not only by the availability of subject groups, but by their motivation and/or experience in immigrant or minority educational issues. It was discussed that data was collected from different sources, whether formal or casual and informal, in addition to the formal procedure of data collection from our subject groups (N=20) who took part in the study for three consecutive years. Our different sources were among immigrant students from different ethnic groups; home-language teachers, and other teachers, administrators, counsellors, and immigrant parents wherever the occasion gave us the opportunity for formal or informal talks. The data collected from different sources and by different approaches were subsequently cross-checked in an multi-level procedure.

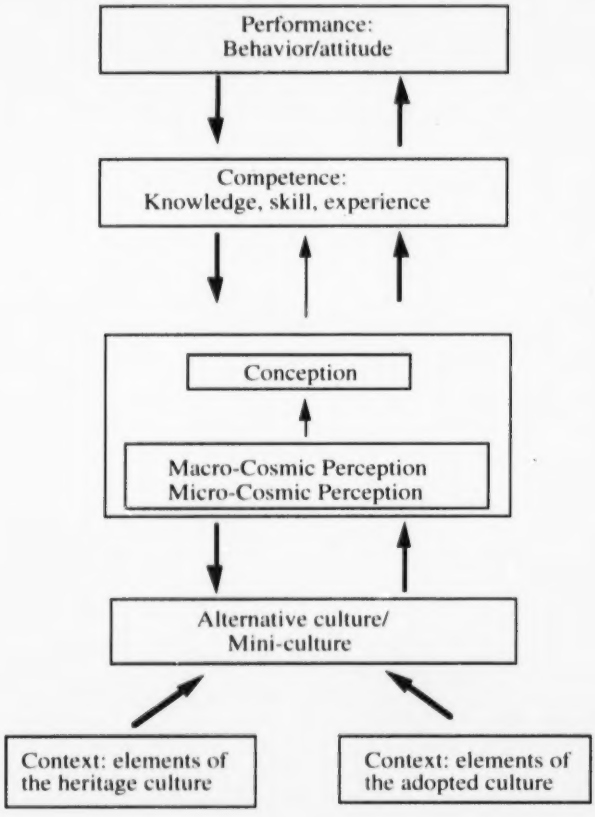

Figure 18. The improved model of sociocultural influences on immigrants'/minorities' macrocosmic and microcosmic perceptions

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8.2.3 Major findings from the empirical study: Summary and conclusions

General

It was argued in the previous chapters that the study of the effects of the structure of education factors in a sociocultural context on the immigrant/minority-language individual's conception and the outcome of his education is a multidimensional and multistage process. The dimensions of the study were confined within the framework specified for the accumulation, presentation and analyses of data in terms of their positive or negative contributions to the study according to the subject groups' oral and written attributes. Social and organizational levels covered the issues in the macrodimension. (Intra)individual process and teaching level factors were specified as sub-divisions in the microdimension. Each level, in turn, was divided into different stages (see table 3).

This means of judgement of the process, outcomes and effects leading to certain decisions or conclusions was found to facilitate: (a) the study's qualitative approach of data collection process by means of observation, in-depth interviews and essay tests; (b) the achievement of reliability by triangulation method for the accumulated data in a multi-level procedure; and (c) providing the study with a relatively stronger background for the ethnographic analysis of the status of heritage language phenomenologically in the formal system of education in the two cases studied.

As regards the fulfilment of the set objectives, it was found that the accumulated relevant data helped the study: (a) to understand human behaviour from the actor's frame of reference; (b) to gain a deeper insight into the process of making decisions on the choice of education and the determination of need adjustments leading to initiating starting point, and (c) to analyse the data gathered in terms of the presentations of effects of different factors or the synergy effects of different factors on an individual's perceptions and the interpretation of realities including his/her conception of education and instruction, and the culture in practice.

The detailed discussions were preceded by a summary of findings as well as their justification were presented in different sections of chapter seven. Wherever needed, the findings and conclusions were presented either schematically or descriptively and explanatorily with accompanying

figures and tables. Due to the very complex interrelationship and the interdependency of the implications of the findings with their context of presentation and their widespread similarities of the issues agreed upon in different levels and stages, we were convinced that such findings must be presented for the readers' attention in their sequence of narration after each section or chapter. However, a summary of the major findings from the study as related to both dimensions of the study as well as their different levels, which represent the outcomes of the synergy effects of their subdivisions or stages, will be given below.

Findings relevant to the interactional effects of macro and micro-dimension factors

Part one: Findings obtained from the implementation of observation techniques.

The results of the analysis showed the importance of the interactional effects of the macro and micro dimension factors not only on the immigrant Iranian upper-secondary school education acquirers' conception of heritage language and culture in practice at the selection phase, but also their significance for the fulfilment of the required activities associated with the initiation, analysis, implementation and utilization phases (figure 11). The results that emerged from the examination of interactional effects of the factors incorporated at macro-dimension levels and stages of the study were significant. They indicated that *how* and *why* social level and organizational level factors - whether it be the social context or the context of education- function as a strong and powerful context which models, changes, and shapes the immigrant individual's interpretations of reality, including their choice of education.

The most enlightening, it was observed that the Iranian immigrant students, in the early stages of the selection phase, defined and identified their educational priorities according to the socio-cultural system current in their country of origin. After a longer period of residence in the host country, they develop a kind of *mini-culture* which is the outcome of the interaction of their heritage culture and the adopted values from the culture in contact. From this point on, their decision-making process is affected by this mini-culture as is the identification of their need priorities including their choice of education and their attitude toward their heritage language and culture.

As regards the above finding, a closer examination of the data showed that *the more the ethnic minority groups are isolated from the majority dominant group, the more they are attached to their national past values including their heritage language and culture.* And vice versa, the more they are integrated in the majority community, the more open they are to accepting new norms, life styles, values etc.; they think more comvergently and interpret the occurrence of events logically and with understanding based on the value systems of the two cultures. Being isolated from the majority community means that an individual's concept formation is

processed and governed more by his/her *local values* and *belief systems* (see figure 2). *Integration means the elements adopted from other cultures (adopted culture) have interacted with the other two dimensions.*

The results, so far, indicated why it is important for social workers as well as educators and social and educational planners to take into consideration the fact that the immigrant youngsters live in two worlds. The objective world they are living in (the host country) and the subjective realities of their native countries which interact with each other. The former is what they are experiencing and the latter consists of a series of norms governing their lives at home. They are norms which have practically lesser implications in the host country as compared with the norms accepted by the majority, but at least equally important to immigrants' social life within their minority community *leading to co-existence and integration of the two cultures.*

From the review of the findings related to macro-dimension factors in the study, it was found that *occupation and labour-market factors* had the least significant effect on the Iranians' conception of their heritage language and culture. *State and the Iranian minority community* were found to have the most positive effect while *mass media* as a social factor and the identified organizational factors (see table 4) were found to have the most negative effects on the young Iranian students' conception of their heritage culture and language.

The analysis of the emerged findings so far confirmed that the *role of the family* was not regarded as having such a decisive influence as other social factors (context factors) on the conception of or behaviour of children towards their heritage language and culture. On the other hand, it was implicitly concluded that parents' abilities to identify their youngsters' needs based on their knowledge of the majority's culture facilitated the social integration processes of their children. *Their lack of awareness of and/or a knowledge about the value systems of the host country was found to be the main reason for their children's isolation from the majority community and their closer attachments to their local (home culture) values.*

The most significant results gained from the examination and evaluation of the interactional effects of the factors incorporated at micro-dimension levels and stages of the study confirmed that teaching level factors have a decisive effect on (intra)individual factors and are, in turn, greatly affected by social and organizational-level factors. It was also found that motivation to maintain the heritage language and culture of the immigrants is negatively correlated with the length of their residence in a host country. The longer their length of residence, the less they feel the need to invest both time and effort on minority language as a school subject under the existing circumstances. This does not necessarily mean that the Iranian youngsters tend towards the attrition of their heritage language and culture altogether. One of the main reasons was found to be the effect of the *majority will* on the immigrant students' attitude towards their heritage language. Majority language, Swedish in Sweden, is considered to be the key

to Iranian students' future success. *L2 (Swedish), in this case, is in fact a tool or a key for world revelation.*

Through the analysis of (intra)individual process factors, it was confirmed that: (a)There was a high correlation between motivation and our subjects' behaviour or attitude to learning their heritage language at school on the one hand and (b) the learning-process stage and the teaching-level factors on the other. This is the key to our argument why the Iranian students cannot ensure the transmission of their heritage language in the existing context, namely, where education is delivered (the delivery perspective of education) with a view of the learner's awareness of the learning that takes place as the receiving perspective.

A further analysis of (intra)individual process factors and teaching-level factors revealed that there were very close interrelationships among the goals set for the home-language instruction programmes, the context of education, the identification of needs and the decline in favourable attitude to home - language attainment and commitment to its use. The results showed that the decline in a favourable attitude to home-language is correlated with increasing length of instruction at school and is constant with a noticeable manifestation both at discourse and practice level during the second and third year.

It was found that a less favourable attitude to home language is connected to relatively low attainment in home language. This is what we have called *language stagnation versus language development.* Unfavourable attitudes, in the case of our Iranian subject groups, were found to be very much due to the conviction that under the existing circumstances (synergy effects of macro and micro-dimension factors), they cannot ensure the transmission of their heritage language and culture to an acceptable degree. Moreover, they have a rather low commitment to its use.

The most controversial question for both the Iranian students and their home- language teachers was found to be not the question of *why to learn*, but *what is to be learnt and to what extent and with what effect!* As related to the class organization, grouping was another controversial issue in home-language classes. Heterogeneous grouping and peer tutoring were found probably to be one of the effective class strategies as ranked by the students. But the home-language teachers had found it not to be analogous to the uniformity of class activities and teaching activities.

The goals of home language instruction programmes were found to be too ambiguous and unrealistic to be achieved. They are regarded as not being based on the identification of the clients' needs, the context constraints and the ultimate goal of bilingual education in Sweden, which is *active bilingualism.*

Part two: A summary of findings and conclusions obtained from the implementation of discussion techniques: home-language teachers' perspectives.

The results of the analysis showed that the home-language teachers' perspectives (N=35) of the factors influencing their students' conception of and their competence and performance in home-languages were of *evaluative character*. In their ways of identifying and categorizing the influence of different factors on their immigrant students' conception of heritage language, the process of education, and the expected results versus the results achieved, it was found that they had related their students' utterances to four distinct areas: (a) individual student's conception of language teaching and the learning process, and the hidden reasons for their dropping out, or active participation; (b) the existing class activities and planning; (c) the educational results expected and achieved, and the identification of the related influential factors; and finally (d) their students' commitment to its use and/or its incorporation in their education as well as their relevant justification.

Drop-outs, lack of interest and/or motivation for active participation in home-language instruction programmes were found to be the most agreed upon problem across all home languages. Teacher perspectives had identified teaching level factors, the status of the home language in society, especially if it was not one of the major European languages, and attitude-change principles - the most influential of all *modelling* - as the most crucial factors in this respect. Under the existing circumstances, these influences were found to condition negative attitudes toward minority/immigrant language and culture. *The effects were noticed to be greater in the absence of adequate support from home factors.*

Home-language teachers were found to have concerns for the identification of the influences of other factors which affected the micro-dimension level activities, the elimination of which could lead to a more effective home-language teaching-learning process. It was indicated that the synergy effects of micro-dimension level factors were influential not only on teaching-level factors, but also on an individual's attitudes and subsequently on his self- concept. *It was argued that this leads to an individual's re-conceptualization of the realities including his/her identifications of need priorities even as related to language and culture in practice.*

The re-examination of home-language teachers' perspectives showed that if their students' requirements at initiation and analysis phases as regards home-language instruction programmes (see figure 11) were mutually fulfilled, the most important outcomes among others would be: positive attitude/conception; extrinsic/intrinsic motivation; and competency and cognitive-based learning of the needed knowledge, skills and experience on the part of the learners.

The classification of the uttered attributes both by those who wished to take part in home-language instructions and by those who did not, could theoretically be justified according to the definition of attitude and the components of attitude. The examination of the results showed that the used attributes with no exceptions were *outcome-oriented* versus *process*-oriented answers. They revealed education acquirers' behaviour towards

and their conceptions of home-language instruction programmes as the results of the synergy effects of macro and micro dimension factors. However, in this respect, top priority influence on other sections of macro-dimension factors and all the factors included in micro-dimension levels was assigned to three of the social level factors, namely: state, mass media and the minority community.

The state was specified as having a relatively positive effect on students' conceptions of their heritage language and culture even though a great gap was noticed to exist between its good, explicit intentions mirrored in curriculum proposals and the results achieved in practice. This was explained and discussed in relation to three main objectives for Sweden's policy concerning immigrants and minorities, namely: *Equality, Freedom of choice* and *Partnership* (see section 2.4.4), and its very positive consequences for the Swedish educational system for the minority ethnic groups and immigrants.

The role of the *mass media* was specified as enforcing some unrealistic imprints on the minds of the majority Swedish population. This was discussed in relation to the emphasis on some exceptions and the generalization of the occurrence of very limited events to all immigrants. However, the general conviction were to believe in the positive efforts/contributions the mass media had made over time to the establishment of a reasonable co-existence between immigrants and the majority Swedish population.

The *minority community's role* was discussed and identified as positive and in relation to the re-production/maintenance of the majority language and culture.

Part three: Findings and results obtained from the implementation of interview questions and the essay tests: Iranian immigrant students' perspectives

The results from the interviews and essay type questions showed that these two techniques contributed to the aim of this section of the empirical study. In several discussions, we documented the Iranian students' ability to analyse different situations, justify their needs and make decisions accordingly.

The results of the analysis of the attributes used indicated that *language* and *culture priority* and the *source of identity* were the most talked about and controversial issues. Meanwhile, the most interesting result that emerged was *the identification of the interdependency of language, co-existence and equilibrium with the ecosystem*, which was brought up in essay tests in addition to the specification of the crucial factors which exerted an influence on immigrants' choice process in these respects.

Attempts were made to discuss the young Iranian immigrants' perspectives on their choice of language, culture and their source of identity in a mixed socio-cultural context. The examination of the relevant justifications showed that the Iranian students in Sweden desire to maintain their

heritage culture and language skills as well as their identity as Iranians. Meanwhile, they believe that immigrants, if they want to keep their equilibrium with their ecosystem, can no longer be attached solely to one definite value system. It was further specified *time and geographical* contexts as two important social level factors which directed one's priorities at selection level. It was also explored and discussed that the young Iranian immigrants' culture in practice was an emerged *communicative or mini-culture*, the characteristics of which were desired to be rooted both in their national (home) culture and the contributions of the adopted culture or majority culture.

Regarding heritage language and culture maintenance/attrition, *we found that this process was proportional to how an individual immigrant was affected by all or some of the dimensions of the socio-cultural triangulation* (figure 2). In this respect, three diverse or heterogeneous groups were distinguished and three new concepts were introduced and defined accordingly for them to fit in. They were:

(a) TOTAL DISSOCIATES or CONTRAPOISE. It was found that this group consisted of quarrelsome and difficult immigrant children who were not able to keep their equilibrium with their ecosystem due to the lack of sufficient positive influences from their national (home) value systems and those of the host country. *They faced the dilemma of identity and personality: lack of self-confidence, self-concept and feelings of rootlessness.* Their L_1, L_2 competence and performance were found to be limited to daily market-place dimensions of language use both at home and in society at large. The rate of language mix was observed to be very high in favour of the usage of L_2 words and idioms. They were most likely to drop out of school. Among other reasons, *the most crucial was found to be the inadequate acquisition of L_2 knowledge and skills.*

(b) PARTIAL DISSOCIATES or UNIPOISE. This group consisted of those immigrant children or youngsters whose emerged communicative or mini-culture is more consistent with the adoptive culture of the host country (Sweden). *They are characterized as emotionally unstable, depressed, and suffering from the dilemma of identity.* Their L_2 (Swedish) competence and performance overshadow their competence and performance in their heritage language. Their drop-out rate was found to be relatively lower than the contrapoise. Among other reasons, this was found to be due to their adequate acquisition of L_2 knowledge and culture.

(c) The EQUIPOISE where the emergence of the alternative culture constituted a counterbalance between the elements of their home or national culture and those of their adopted culture. These were found to be the ideal individuals with a relatively richer background which enabled them to maintain their equilibrium with their *dual ecosystems.*

Co-existence was found to be the main issue in their discussions. It was discovered that to this group, the concept of *co-existence* was synonymous with *meaningful mutual communication* with those around them. In this connection, the acquisition of a majority language and a relative awareness of its related culture were confirmed as being the prerequisites of meaningful communication. Furthermore, since immigrant individuals have a dual life system, it was discovered that Iranian immigrants recommended that their *search for meaning in their dual world* pre-dispose their efforts to acquire both their heritage culture and language as well as those of the majority to the extent possible.

From a personality and identity point of view, in relation to the three identified culturally motivated groups, we found that *the equipoise faced less of a dilemma than the other two groups*. The implicit reason for this was discovered to lie in the fact that the equipoise rather than the other two groups sought meaning and searched their source of identity in their national (home) culture as well as their adopted culture. They identified themselves as *"The Iranian Immigrants in Sweden"* but not as *"Iranians"* alone.

Dualism, in relation to the context of language and culture performance, was found to be strong in the equipoise. We discovered that this was due to the impact of their heritage socio-cultural values which had given them the ability to analyse different situations properly and to generalize this ability to satisfy their new needs according to their emerged *communicative culture* in the host country. They were found to be committed to the practical aspects of *dualism*, so much so that *they admitted that neither the elements of their surface culture contrast with those at home nor the manifestations of their deep culture to be challenged by the majority culture to any large degree.*

Empirically, it was concluded that social-level factors had the most decisive influence both on individuals' *self-conception* and their *interpretations of social realities* including the applicability of their competencies based on their past learned knowledge, skills, experience and behaviour, and their degree of performance. In the case of students, it was found that the influence of the school organizational factors also had to be combined. We discussed how the synergy effects of the combination of these two clusters of factors led - among other side-effects - to the negative, neutral, and positive attitudes of the immigrants towards their home-language maintenance: competence and performance, and their choice of culture in practice.

To sum up, we found the equipoise displayed a positive attitude towards a competency and cognitive-based learning process and outcome in both L_1 and L_2 and their relevant cultures, while the contrapoise displayed a negative attitude to L_1 and L_2 cultures and neutral attitude to L_1 and its culture was shown by the unipoise.

8.2.4 Conclusions and the closing discussions

The design and execution of the research described in the preceding chapters was primarily governed by the several objectives set for the study. In its attempts to achieve its objectives, the study accumulated data and/or findings which are partly in accordance with the issues covered by the preceding research and partly suggested new means and ends for a further understanding of the issues on and around bilingualism in a socio-cultural setting.

This research, due to its multidisciplinary approach of tackling the issues of bilingualism on the basis of an examination of a multitude of interrelated domains, has more successfully- we believe - contributed to our understanding of the fact that the concept of *language* and *research on language from a linguistic point of view* alone may contribute to some very limited aspects of the issues surrounding the concept of language and the important role a well- acquired language play in a human being who, as an *entity*, is perplexed by a very simple word or a gesture or to whom *the world is revealed by the meanings of the words as they are understood.*

With regard to the conceptualized interaction model (chapter five), these relations were suggested and the relevant findings, justifications and discussions were presented in chapter seven. However, despite the specific and very detailed conclusions presented in different sections of chapters seven and eight, the presentation of some definitive general and comparative conclusions and discussions appear to shed light on the issues of *bilingualism why* and *bilingualism how.*

The results obtained from the application of the three data-collection techniques indicated the importance of a knowledge of heritage language and culture for immigrant children and youngsters. The most controversial issue concerned the exploring and then to describing whether or not the minority language students desire to maintain their mother-tongue skills and to develop their cultural identity.

The model for socio-cultural systems used in the study, enabled us to arrive at a better understanding of the concept of *will* in the case of an immigrant child living in an environment which is surrounded by the *majority will*. In relation to education, the concept of will in this study means: *opinions about and attitudes towards change or maintenance in some educational phenomena.*

The opinions and the "wills" of the students may not always be the same. They may vary not only from one person to the other, but may change over time as a result of the effects of outer influences. So, the question was raised whether or not an immigrant can or may exert his *will* totally or partially when his *will* and the *will* of those around him as the majority will are not the same.

What needed to be measured in this investigation was not the majority will, but the effects of the majority will in its macro dimension on the non-majority's micro-dimension. The answer was found to lie in the identifica-

tion of the factors which hinder or facilitate the exertion of the non-majority will in a society, that is, how *wills* implicitly shift in interaction with outer influences in the frame of the reconceptualization/ reassessment of need priorities.

Explicitly and implicitly, the will of the immigrant students was affected by a combination of (a) macro-dimension level factors at social level: state, occupation, labour market, and the mass media; and (b) education organizational factors: planning, decision-making policies, and the cultural issues current in the majority community. This relationship was rationalised by the fact that the *majority will* is determined by the social structure of the society in question, and the *immigrant's will* is also subordinate to this influence if he wants to integrate into the mainstream and so keep pace with social issues of different kinds, the most important being the need to maintain his/her equilibrium with his ecosystem. *In this respect, the immigrant needs some new potentials, skills and abilities to enable him to cope with the problems in his search for meaning in his new environment.* He desperately needs a new alternative or communicative culture to help him understand the implications of communication codes as well as to be understood.

This communicative culture or mini-culture, emerged as an alternative culture with its selective character, was found to pick up some elements from the home culture and some from the adopted culture, the rate of which is proportionate to the degree of effects obtained from each dimension leading to an immigrant being categorized as *the contrapoise, the unipoise or the equipoise. The more additive and consciously monitored this selection, the more equilibrist the immigrant child would be with the capacities needed to maintain his equilibrium with all aspects of his dual life system and his life-long needs.* In other words, this categorization is in accordance with the overlap occasions or borderline cases related to the context of heritage culture and the adopted culture. Figure 19 illustrates the overlap zone where different cultural systems overlap. It was found that the wider the overlap zone, the more apt the immigrant/minority language child or youngster is to react *comvergently.*

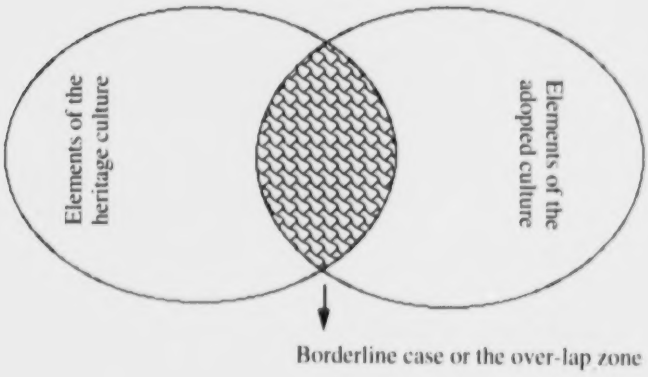

Figure 19. Diagram illustrating the overlap zone

In practice, the question was rephrased and answered in relation to *who else* and/or *what else* exerted the most influence on the process of choice in general and on the process of choice of language and culture in particular. The answer was found to be *the majority will* which was determined by the social structure of the society in question and which is mirrored directly onto the organizational levels as well as onto the (intra)individual process and teaching level (see table 4). The direction of effects is shown in figure 20 below.

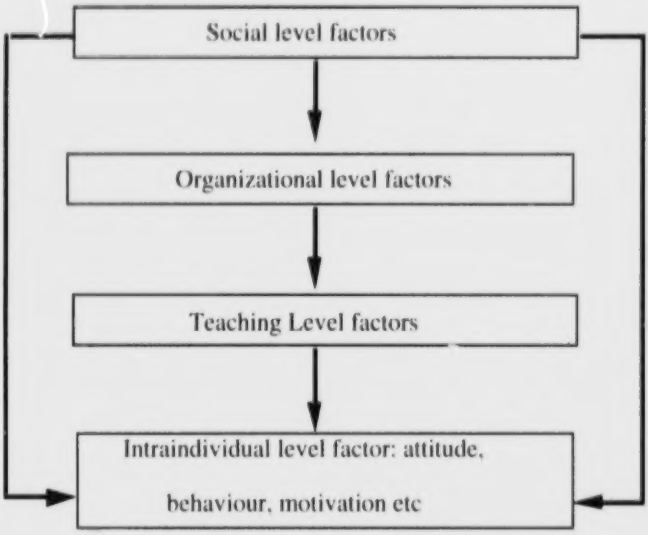

Figure 20. Model illustrating the direction of effects of macro-dimension factors on the micro-dimension levels

The significance of the synergy effects of the two levels of macro-dimension (enforcing the majority will) on the non-majority students' macro-cosmic and micro-cosmic perceptions are magnified when they are related to our integrated education transfer and acquisition is model (figure 11).

According to the results related to the interactional effects of these two dimensions, the events which take place at the initiation and analysis phases are so complex and at the same time so delicate that lack of attention on education transferer's part to the fulfilment of each step leaves negative imprints on the non-majority individual's final decision on choice of education and his determination of the necessary adjustments at selection phase. On the contrary, the implementation phase and subsequently the utilization phase can successfully be realised when, at the selection phase, the education acquirer - parallel with the education transferor - is convinced of the appropriateness of a certain education by ensuring its benefits. This mutual conviction was found to result in the immigrant education acquirer's positive attitude/concept confirmation and ultimately in an appropriate individual and system performance. It is very probable that at this point, the education acquirer's performances are cognitive based leading to both inventory and productive decisions in order to upgrade knowledge, skills and values on an additive basis and thus promoting his comvergent thinking. A good example of this mutual conviction was observed to exist in preparatory classes in Linköping (see section 7.2).

Research on home-language instruction programmes: process and outcomes, was the main objective aimed in this study. In chapter seven, we explored the problem of mother - tongue teaching in Sweden serendipitiously and identified precisely where such problems lie. Through the hypothesis testing part of the study, that is the empirical sections, we set out to test a variety of hypotheses related to the problem of mother-tongue teaching, viz. the acquisition of positive cultural identity as a result of mother-tongue teaching, the influence of mother-tongue teaching on bilingualism, assessment of personality, social integration and maturity, and finally measures of linguistic confidence in the immigrant child's mother-tongue and second language (L_2). *These dimensions of the study both supported our previous conclusions that the non-majority's micro-dimension was affected by the majority will in its macro-dimension, and led to some pedagogical as well as psychological conclusions.* A first conclusion confirmed that proper *confirmatory exposure* to the practical aspects of the language and culture from both the non-majority and the majority context is more important than the length of *non-confirmatory* instruction in or orientation to the language.

A second conclusion was that an individual's attitude toward the maintenance of heritage culture and language changes both as a function of individual's needs and motives as well as a function of the social situation. The former was found to be subordinate to the latter *unless home factors intervene and intervert the functions towards a more balanced state.* As a third conclusion, individual characteristics and subsequently their self-con-

cept were found to be greatly affected by the macro-dimension level factors, so much so that such synergy effects resulted in their re-assessing of their priorities including their choice of education. *This was found to be an inevitable process which happens sooner or later independent of the non-majority's will.*

The fourth conclusion revealed the study's findings in the affective domain part of attitudes towards the maintenance of the heritage language and culture. *The results showed that affective reasons alone do not reveal intentions leading to action or constitute a readiness or background for action.* It was confirmed that other variables such as integrated motivation, proper context, competence and positive reinforcement, if mixed with appropriate feelings and emotions, may pre-dispose certain behaviour/attitude which lead to action or constitute readiness or background for action. Here, the term *action* is synonymous with *proper performance*. The context or circumstances in which an immigrant or a minority-language individual is supposed to acquire the needed linguistic competence for his subsequent performance was found to be the most crucial. This conclusion contradicts our previous assumption that only teaching level factors played the most important role in this connection.

8.3 Suggestions for Practitioners

Involvement in immigrant/minority education requires a comprehensive recognition of education acquirer's needs and abilities to absorb and use education: knowledge, skills and values on the part of the education transferor as well as the recognition of opportunities, possibilities and benefits of education transfer.

The study's empirical findings - based on its linguistic and non-linguistic approach to the study of *hows* and *whys* surrounding bilingual education showed that:

- Linguistic aspects of language alone should not be taught or learned in isolation from the issues of everyday life;
- Language must be considered as means of influencing those with whom one co-exists and is influenced by;
- Teaching - learning a language without its association to the context of the culture in which that language has developed cannot fulfil the aim of language teaching, and apparently does not solve the communication problems of those who use it as a first or second language.

The issues specified above discovered in this study, form the cornerstone for making home-language instruction programmes more effective and functional with the potential to prepare immigrant language learners for their dual life-long needs for co-existence with both their home and the

majority community. With these issues in mind and with the conviction that the overall goals of language study are effective communication and cultural understanding, we can more easily comment on content, method, class organization and the context of teaching for home-language instruction programmes. We hope that the following suggestions, which are based on both the theoretical and the empirical findings of the study as well as on the researcher's twenty five years of teaching experience, can be of interest to practitioners.

8.3.1 Content of teaching and class activities

It is proposed that the degree of the suitability of a text, teaching materials and teaching activities are optimal when they are selected according to (a) the cognitive development of the learner; (b) his needs and interests; (c) his specific knowledge level, and (d) most important of all, *if they convey meaning in immigrant language learner's new ecosystem.*

Class activities in home-language instruction programmes must be planned and carried out with the aim of resulting in effective communication and cultural understanding of the learner, *helping him to think and react comvergently.*

Teaching materials and the selection of texts must not be limited solely to aspects of language and culture. They must be related to both dimensions of the language; that is, *natural language and artificial language.* The former implies the linguistic and cultural aspects of the language and the latter refers to concepts in mathematics, physics, chemistry, etc.

Texts are most suitable and interesting when they are selected for their relevance both to the objective everyday life of the immigrant language learner in the host country as well as to his heritage language and home culture: history, geography, music, etc.

8.3.2 Methods of teaching

Teaching is a matter of facilitating learning and is regarded as the ways or the methods used to bring about learning. According to the findings of the study, the most commonly applied methods for language teaching, that is, *the situational* and *the contrastive analysis methods* were found to be not the only alternative methods of teaching a language to a child who is supposed to think comvergently based on the inputs from two languages and cultures. Situational and contrastive analysis methods, in this case, were found to be inadequate since they cover limited applications of the language and culture in the contexts given.

What we propose as an alternative method of teaching language to immigrant/minority bicultural bilingualists, who must be true bilinguals in their practices is what we have called the *confirmatory reactionary method* or CRM. With this method, the teacher creates the necessary atmosphere

situationally, after his learners have been oriented towards and provided with the needed linguistic and cultural information. Then, by means of oral-aural exercises, the teaching - learning continues until *the learner's unconscious reactions confirm his correct behaviour or performance in similar situations or leads his reactions to the right judgements initiated from the integration of the two value systems expressed in the frame of his home language*. More exercises can follow, in oral or in written form, based on the structural or generative description of language. Argumentative, explanatory and descriptive essay writing and oral discussions were found to help the more advanced learners to increase their abilities to recognise similarities and differences.

8.3.3 Class organization (grouping)

The class organization recommended is *heterogeneous* grouping. The results of the study indicated that from teachers' point of view heterogeneity was considered to be a disadvantage while from the learners' point of view, it was observed to be an advantage. A disadvantage, in the sense that (a) the teacher could not plan a common agenda for the whole group; (b) the class had to be divided into smaller groups, and (c) effective teaching - learning was difficult due to lack of time and the other above-mentioned shortcomings. An advantage, in the sense that based on peer tutoring, different subgroups were observed to benefit from each other's knowledge, skills and experience in their discussions and debates. Although, there seemed to exist controversies in the teacher thinking versus the student thinking process, one important issue emerged. Teachers were found to believe in the effectiveness of teaching process in formal education, while learners believed in the more effective instructional process and the results gained through informal teaching.

Despite this argument, the results of the study confirmed that non-formal education is more suitable when the classes are grouped heterogeneously. Non-formal education refers to semi-organized educational activities operating outside the regular structure and routine of the formal system, aimed at serving a great variety of learning needs of different subgroups in the population of every age (see section 4.4.1).

8.3.4 Who should teach and with what effect? The teacher as a facilitator

A comparison between language learning/teaching process in a non-native and native environment will help us understand who should teach home languages and with what effect.

People learn another language, as a second language or as a foreign language. When the teaching and the learning of another language occurs in a non-native context, that is, in the context of learners' sociocultural systems,

the language is learned and practised without the real implications of the cultural system in which the language has been developed. As such, another language is used by the learner for communication purposes in relation to his/her own socio-cultural setting. We might suppose that the learner has learned about the sound system, grammar and vocabulary, *but that he/she lacks the ability and the knowledge to interrelate the linguistic utterance to its cultural subsystem in the context where the language is spoken as a first language.*

In the case of the immigrant students, this process is reversed. They have to learn their second language in the context of the culture in which it has been developed, but learn and practice their home language in a non-native setting. The home-language teacher, in this respect, as one who intends to facilitate learning on the part of the learner must have both the general qualifications to be ranked as a teacher and a comprehensive competency as *language teacher, culture mediator*, and *assistant teacher* wherever his/her help is needed.

Additional results emerging from the study showed that: (a) the same qualifications are needed for second-language (L_2) teachers teaching immigrant students; (b) L_2 teachers and home-language teachers' class and teaching activities when co-ordinated can function as one which facilitates learning the allsided linguistic and cultural needs of the immigrants. These descriptions of the qualifications necessary for a home-language teacher result in the following suggestions:

- A home-language teacher must both be qualified and professional as a language teacher and experienced as a second-language or a foreign-language teacher.
- He/she must have the ability and the experience to plan and carry out class and teaching activities which results in the training true/active bilinguals in close co-operation with L_2 teachers.

8.3.5. Context of teaching

The inferential findings from the study indicated that the best context for the teaching/learning of a home language is still the *school contexts*, despite the existing problems related to the home-language instruction programmes at the teaching level. The reasons are better understood when we relate the context of teaching to our previous suggestions as to the content and the methods of teaching, class organization, the necessary qualifications for home-language and the second-language teachers, and the need for constant co-operation between them in planning and the effective/functional implementation of language instruction programmes designed to train *true balanced bilinguals*. If the opposite is the case, that is, if home - language instruction programmes are detached from the formal

school environment and carried out by different immigrant communities, there seems to be the danger of:

- *Overexaggeration of the benefits of the home-language and culture* to immigrants and their detachment from the effects of the majority language and culture. This was found to lead to a convergent thinking process in immigrant children. A good example is the case of special schools for the Finnish minority groups in Sweden or the special schools for some immigrant groups in Rinkeby, Stockholm, where the immigrant children receive their first few years of education in their home languages. This creates a situation where the integration process of children is postponed until some later time, which may well have its risks. Our observational study showed that such individuals develop a kind of communicative culture which is only applicable among themselves.

- *Children's dissociation* from the existing social issues where they are supposed to live and work in the future. They are transformed into either *unipoise* or *contrapoise* individuals both of which lead to the individual's lack of ability to keep their equilibrium with their ecosystems (see section 8.2.3 part three).

8.4 Cultural understanding and improving the quality of minority language education - Towards the dynamics of avoiding a lost generation and promoting the emergence of a new entity

Active bilingual education as a means of effective communication for immigrant or minority-language children must have the goal of bringing about the necessary cultural understanding for and a bridge between the majority and the minority languages and cultures. We know that, most often, this is not the outcome of bilingual bicultural education. One could possibly wonder why this has been the case and try to find plausible ways of finding solutions to the ever- increasing problems which surround the issues of multicultural, multiracial and intercultural education as one of the effective means of internationalising of education.

The effectiveness of such instruction rests largely on the existence of a mechanism which enables the education transferors to reorient their notions about how to influence the education acquirers' thinking and behaviour which will be both constructive and plausible as regards their lifelong needs for equilibrium with their ecosystems. But here lie the contradictions in research findings, the conflicts in theories and confrontations of idea. The reason is that the education transferors' macrodimension-level factors in the form of *the majority will* not only intervene and mould the

education acquirers' content of thinking, but remodel their conceptions about how things are. The effect of majority macrodimension-level factors on the minority-language population's microdimension increases as the *minority will* loses its power as a decisive source of decision-making process.

A basic perspective in philosophical debates as well as pedagogical and social research on language and culture must be the perspective of humaneness. Here, it is the human entities that should be focused on and studied. This includes his feelings, needs, life experiences and how he interprets the phenomena and how he understands the reality depending on his perspective, the given context and his personality.

One of the most important implications of the study is the need to create an atmosphere where communications between the majority and the minority are understood, individuals are properly identified and personalities are expressed. This central theme is best approached from the perspective of humaneness. It is only from this perspective that one can find the answer to the most frequent and crucial question the immigrant or minority language children ask *"who am I ?"*

The findings in this study show that the answer to this question depends on our knowledge and ability to differentiate and make clear what our basic values are; what we regard as the most precious values. whether or not we can change or have changed for the better under the existing circumstances; whether we have been able to learn something more about ourselves and the world around us; what is good or bad in the new environment; and how the identifying concepts such as friendship, enmity, majority, minority and the like are approached and understood.

People's emotional and intellectual lives are not only inseparable, but interdependent. They are the outcomes of the synergy effects of the different dimensions of what Sahaf (1992) has identified as the *content perspective* and the *existential perspective*. Content perspective has firm roots above all in two dimensions of culture, namely, local values and the belief system. The existential perspective involves most the elements of the adopted culture.

Within this frame, it is rationalised that an individual's microcosmic and macrocosmic perceptions are the products of the close interplay between these two perspectives. They mould both the content of our thinking and provide a context for the manifestation of our emotions.

One important implication of this finding is our awareness of the need to include a combination of different dimensions of the content perspective and the existential perspective in any decision-making process relevant to planning the education of immigrants with a view to its expected results and a diagnosis of the results gained. This helps the education acquirer and the education transferor to improve their understanding of the situations by inducing certain proper forms of behaviour which are both crucial and necessary for the former to keep or to maintain his equilibrium with his

ecosystem and for the latter to monitor the effectiveness of the steps he takes.

This seems a rather unapproachable process because the *will* of the education acquirer and that of the education transferor are not the same. They differ in a wide range of respects which mostly correspond with and are initiated from their different content perspectives and their attached dimensions*. But, at the same time, attention to the details of each of these dimensions indicate that these two groups possess certain similarities which can be used as a basis for effective communications between them. One such similarity, which is magnified in the empirical parts of the study, is based on what *kinds of school-leavers* are the products of the formal system of education when the effects of instructional measures in a more profound perspective are/are not jeopardised by the inclusion of the life-long needs of the immigrants for their problem solving ability. One such need is the immigrant child's need to not only maintain, but develop his heritage language and culture as a means of identifying himself and expressing his personality as an entity whose content of thinking is moulded by the effects of different phenomena from different environments.

The lack of a problem-solving communication ability as the outcome of education, when accompanied by an unstable personality and an unexpressed identity leaves room to the operation of many other mechanisms to remodel our conceptions about ourselves and the world around us in a different perspective which deviates from what the essence of education should be.

Dahlgren (1990) has discussed three of these mechanisms; the phenomena of *episodic evidence*, a mechanism of *differentiating*, and the mechanism of *relativistic nature of scientific knowledge*.

In our case, within the majority *will* dominated context in which the minority language population's thinking is moulded, we do not view the above three mechanisms merely in relation to the immediate or long-term effects of instructional measures in a perspective which might be jeopardised by the individual's needs, interests and the life expectations. On the contrary, we view them as equally important from a perspective where the minority language individuals' first needs (Maslow, 1970), interests and life expectations as regards success and for equilibrium with their dual ecosystems are jeopardised by the effects of the instructional, organisational, and social measures which are not in line with the true positive contributions these mechanisms could make.

* *A historic dimension* which reveals the individuals' thinking process; their historic background and what has led to their existing perceptions about how things are. *A cultural dimension* which answers the questions about what the messages of different value systems in different cultures are. *An institutional dimension* which deals with the question of how different social organisations and trends, politics, political parties and the like affect the development, maintenance and attrition of our values and value judgements. *A belief dimension* which includes questions on how individuals specify goals in their lives. *An ethical dimension* which includes questions on the role of belief systems and perceptions in the ethical problems. A *confrontation dimension* which includes questions about the debates on the importance of the role of perception in society; why conflicts and confrontations emerge;whether confrontations lead to unresolved conflicts or can have positive effects in the elimination of conflicts.

As regards the outcome of education, the generally accepted belief is that the effects of the instructional measures should not jeopardise, but rather develop a competence or problem-solving ability in individuals which is in line with their needs, interests and life expectations. Psychometrically speaking, in the case of immigrant or minority language populations, this means the ability to think *comvergently*.

In chapter two, I approached the concept of language as a multifaceted subject matter and quoted Lindholm (1981) that *it is through language that the world becomes accessible, comprehensible and meaningful to man*. When approached in this way, the study of language does not confine itself to the linguistic (competence) but also include non-linguistic aspects of language (performance) as well. This implies that there is also the need for differentiation of didactical measures depending on the category of learners, the knowledge imparted, the competence expected and the desired performance.

In a broader dimension, the proper didactic and instructional measures, when in harmony, facilitate the fulfilment of the purpose of education.

Historically, the purpose of education has been to transmit the cultural heritage: knowledge, skills, values, and beliefs from one generation to another (Dembo, 1977). According to a more recent identification of the purpose of education (humanist psychologists), the goal of education is broader than merely passing along knowledge in a historical manner. Education must aim at helping learners learn more about themselves; helping them to relate to others, preparing them for future society, encouraging them to think for themselves and to make their own decisions.

Here, *understanding* and *meaning* are also interrelated. Understanding means interpreting a phenomenon and thereby giving it a meaning. In bilingual education, the study of meaning includes not only the exact literal meanings of words and sentences in the target languages, but also aspects of meaning that derive from linguistic performance, intention of the speaker, knowledge of the world shared by the speaker and the listener, expectations of participants in a conversation and other matters that relate utterances to the general context in which they occur.

In this connection, Lindholm (1981) argues for three concepts of understanding. The first is the *understanding of motives*. This means an understanding of motives which give rise to other persons' action. A second concept is intellectual understanding which refers to a kind of understanding we acquire of mathematical proof. The third is *hermeneutic understanding* which refers to assigning meaning which enables individuals to know and to exercise their will to do.

As regards the bilingual education of the bilingual mind, there is still another dimension of understanding to be focused upon. It simply does not include the understanding or the interpretation of a phenomenon within a perspective, as Lindholm argues, but focuses upon the understanding or the

interpretation of human behaviour as a source of diagnosing for problem-based learning and the relevant instructional activities or planning.

To understand human behaviour, it is necessary to understand the behaver's perceptual world, and how things seem from his point of view. This calls for a different understanding of what the *facts* are that we need in order to deal with human behaviour. Here, it is not the external facts that are important in understanding behaviour, but the meaning of the facts to the behaver. It is then that we can change another person's behaviour to the expected by somehow modifying his beliefs or perceptions. *When he sees things differently, he will behave differently and communicate differently.*

Communication between the education transferor and the education acquirer would probably improve if the former rationalises the efforts for the selection of the information/subject matters and educational activities based on his understanding of the human behaviour and out of the dimensions of the content and the existential perspectives which justify them. This study has often claimed that the interplay of the informative effects of the bits of the imparted knowledge provide the education acquirer with the needed potential in the form of an ability to cope with his personal, emotional, intellectual lives and the means for the solutions of the social problems he will probably encounter in future.

One such competence for a minority-language individual is the ability to think comvergently, *meaning that he is able to answer questions valid in two cultures or initiated from two cultures.* This is not possible without greatest possible competence in both the minority and majority languages and cultures. A mutual and meaningful communication gives all the parties involved in the bilingual education of the minority populations the possibility to induce certain behaviour by improving their understanding of situations, similarities and differences.

It is often claimed in the literature on bilingual education that bilingualism has positive effects on the content of the thinking of bilinguals and that bilinguals are superior to monolinguals in divergent thinking tests. This has been one of the major concerns of this study. We found that the superiority of bilinguals in divergent thinking (Baker, 1988), or as we have proposed, *comvergent thinking ability*, is maximal when the context of education has provided the bilingual learner with the means to transform his abstract thinking into concrete thinking. This is the first step towards the practical aspects of active bilingualism in the form of dialogues or monologues. This is a necessity for, although, a shortcoming in the existing bilingual instruction programmes worldwide.

The present shortcomings in conveying the appropriate lingual and cultural knowledge in bilingual/minority language instructional programmes may to a large extent depend on our inability to improve the effects of the didactical measures and reduce the negative effects of the instructional measures on the outcomes of such transactions. We have good reasons to believe that under the existing circumstances, the majority teacher cannot afford this heavy burden alone. He/she may try to help the

learner with his intellectual understanding, but he/she will never succeed in being completely understood or in helping the minority individuals with their understanding of motives or their hermeneutic understanding.

Other educators, most probably experienced home-language teachers, can be a valuable source of information and a reliable potential for co-operation. Without their help, the abstract thinking of the immigrant child may most probably never be decoded into the form of concrete thinking.

In multilingual, multicultural, and multiracial education, meaningful knowledge is best conveyed if the learners are addressed by diverse cultural teams or groups. Otherwise, *we teach the children reading and writing abilities but we may lose the chance of giving them the ability to understand the concepts.*

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No. 42

LANGUAGE, IDENTITY AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

A sociocultural approach to the study of the concept "will" on the effectiveness of the"how's" and "why's"of bilingualism

Ali Reza Sahaf

Akademisk avhandling

som med vederbörligt tillstånd av filosofiska fakulteten vid Linköpings universitet för avläggande av filosofie doktorsexamen kommer att offentligt försvaras på institutionen för pedagogik och psykologi, Eklundska salen, fredagen den 9 december 1994, kl 14.00.

The study is theoretically and empirically a multidisciplinary survey of the problems surrounding the issues of bilingualism in muticultural multiracial communities. The main purpose is to explore the influence of the synergy effects of the socio-cultural forces both on the quality and the outcome of minority language education in Sweden. The overall design of the study is qualitative in approach and is rooted in three overlapping categories namely serendipitous research, curriculum-centred research and hypothesis - testing research. The developed conceptual model is tested by using three techniques, i.e., observation, in-depth interview and essay-type tests.

Twenty eight Iranian students of different age groups integrated in the Swedish school system and thirty five home-language teachers were subjects to this study. In order to investigate the long-term effects of the macro-dimension level factors of the majority population in Sweden on the micro-dimension level factors of the minority, the subjects were observed and interviewed in their working contexts for three subsequent years. Essay tests were administered to twenty upper-secondary Iranian students towards the end of the third year of observation. In line with the research approach, the analysis of qualitative data is presented in a multi-level procedure.

The theory behind and the methods used in the study led to an investigation of factors affecting not only the process and the achieved results of the minority/immigrant instructional programmes but also the minority individual's conception of the reality and his/her macro-cosmic and micro-cosmic perceptions. The results obtained by the analyses of the data confirm the identification of the interdependency of language, co-existence and equilibrium with the ecosystem. Mini-culture or communicative culture which emerged as a product of the synergy effects of different socio-cultural systems, is a reliable predictor for immigrant/minority individual's degree of integration in or isolation from the majority community. They may be categorised as total dissociates or the contrapoise, partial dissociates or the unipoise and those who have maintained their equilibrium with their ecosystem or the unipoise.

Indexed: socio-cultural systems, comvergent thinking, equilibrium, mini-culture, cultural pin, contrapoise, unipoise, equipoise.

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